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[illegible] penned his target therein as an offering of gratitude [12]. [illegible] of this foundation are said to have been afterward given to [illegible] Ralegh [13] as their rightful owner, by a priest of Axminster. Hooker not only asserts Sir Walter's alliance to the Courtneys, earls of Devon, and other illustrious houses, but even traces the stream of consanguinity up to the kings of England [14], while Pole was of opinion, that it was another family of the Raleghs which was thus royally descended; and several ancient manuscript pedigrees of the family by the heraldic visitors and antiquaries of the west, also differ not only from Hooker, but in some points from Pole, and from one another. Thus the enquiry only tends to convince us of the difficulty of reconciling these several opinions.

Hooker allies the family to the kings of England.

Walter Ralegh, Esq. of Fardel, in the Parish of Cornwood, near Plymouth, the father of Sir Walter, was three times married. By his first wife Joan, daughter of John Drake, Esq. of Exmouth, he had issue, George and John; the latter of whom married Ann, daughter of Sir Bartholomew Fortescue, of Filley, in Devonshire, and relict of ——— Gaicrick, of Ford; and had issue. His second wife, was daughter of ——— Darell, of London; by whom he had Mary [15] afterward married to Hugh Snedale, Esq. of Hilling, in Cornwall; who also had issue. By his third wife Catharine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, Esq. of Compton, in Devonshire, he had issue, Carew, Walter, and Margaret. Carew, afterward knighted, and of Wiltshire, married Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Wroughton, and relict of Sir John Thynn; by whom he had issue. Walter the fourth son, is the celebrated subject of these memoirs [16], and thus appears

Sir Walter's parentage.

[12] Hooker's *Synopsis Chorographica*, or Historical Record of Devonshire; never printed, but quoted by Prince, p. 530.

[13] Risdon's Description of Devonshire *in Axminster.*

[14] See Appendix, No. I.

[15] The Visitation of Devonshire, Ann. 1564, by William Hervey, Esq. Clarencieux a MS. in the Herald's Office.

[16] Ralegh's respectable parentage proves, how improperly the terms *Jack* and *Upstart* were applied to him when he was first distinguished by Queen Elizabeth. Lord Bacon has preserved the following bon-mot, which I quote in his own words:—*When Queen Elizabeth had advanced Ralegh, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my Lord of Oxford, and another nobleman stood by. It fell out so, that*

appears to have been brother, by the mother's side, to the eminent knights Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert. Margaret first married ——— Radford, of Mount Radford, in Devonshire, Clerk of the Peace; and afterward, ——— Hull, Esq. of Larkebere, in the Parish of St. Leonard, Exeter [17].

Sale of estates.

The distinction which the family formerly enjoyed in fame and fortune, had suffered some diminution previously to Mr. Ralegh's lifetime. The estate of Smalridge, which remained theirs to the time of Henry VIII. was sold in that reign, by Sir Walter's grandfather Wimond, to John, the father of Sir John Gilbert, of Compton [18]. Fardel remained some time longer in their possession; for, on Mr. Ralegh's decease, it devolved to his eldest son George, afterward to his second son John, and then to his third son Carew, who sold it to Walter Hele, Esq. of Cornwood [19]. They were also owners of Widdycomb-ralegh, and Coliton-ralegh, the former of which we find, was sold by Sir Carew, (Sir Walter's brother) to George, a natural son of his brother George, just noticed; and the latter, by Sir Walter himself, to Richard Martin, (or his father) of Exeter [20]. Not one of these, however, can claim the honour of being the birthplace of Sir Walter Ralegh.

Birth-place.

Having the remainder of an eighty years lease of a farm called Hayes, in the parish of Budley, near that part of Devonshire where the Otter-river discharges itself into the English Channel, Mr. Ralegh resided on this farm during his last marriage. Thus Hayes

that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so as the jacks were seen: my Lord of Oxford and the other nobleman smiled, and a little whispered. The Queen marked it, and would needs know, what the matter was? My Lord of Oxford answered; that they smiled to see, that when jacks went up, heads went down.—Apothegms, No. 182.

[17] Pole *in Fardell*, and Prince, p. 530, make no mention of Mr. Ralegh's second wife and his daughters, Mary, and Magaret. On this subject, consult in the Harleian Collection, Pedigrees of the Devonshire Gentry, an original MS. by Thomas Westcot, Recorder of Totness.

Richard Munday's MS. Collection of Pedigrees.

Visitation of Devonshire, by Henry St. George, Esq. Richmond-herald, and Sampson Leonard, blue-mantle deputies for W. Camden, Esq. Clarencieux, Ann. 1620.

[18] Prince, p. 530.

[19] Pole *in Fardell*, p. 322.

[20] Prince, p. 531.

became

birth-place of Sir Walter, and is distinguished at this day by [illegible] more remarkable for that circumstance than any other[21]. On the expiration of the lease, the estate devolved to a Mr. Duke, of Otterton, to whom Sir Walter applied without success as a purchaser. In his letter[22] to Mr. Duke on this occasion, he writes, *for the natural disposition I have to the place, being born in that house, I had rather seat myself there than anywhere else.*[23]"

When born. 1552.

By Camden's account of Sir Walter's age when he died, he must have been born in the year 1552. Oldys, also, quotes a manuscript supplement, which he had seen to G. Le Neve's Collection of Nativities, wherein the author fixes Sir Walter's birth, in the sixth year of Edward VI. which agrees with Camden. The astrologer adds, *a year remarkable in our chronicles; first, for that strange shoal of the largest sea fishes, which, quitting their native waters for fresh and untasted streams, wandered up the Thames so high, until the river no longer retained any brackishness; and, secondly, for, that it is thought to have been somewhat stained in our annals, with the blood of the noble Seymer Duke of Somerset; events surprisingly analogous both, to the life of this adventurous voyager, Sir Walter Ralegh, whose delight was in the hazardous discovery of unfrequented coasts; and also to his unfortunate death.*

Educated at Oxford.

Of Ralegh's childhood, not an anecdote has been preserved, and we are even unacquainted where he received his school education. Hooker, Lord Bacon, and Anthony Wood agree, however, that he studied for a few years at the University of Oxford. The latter's words are, *he became commoner of Oriel College, in, or about the year* 1568, *when his kinsman, C. Champernon studied there; and his natural parts being strangely advanced by academical learning, under the care of an excellent tutor, he became the ornament of the juniors, and was worthily esteemed a proficient in oratory and philosophy*[24]. He afterward

1568.

[21] Prince. p. 530.

[22] Dated from the Court, July 26, 1584, see Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. 1, *in Ralegh.*

[23] Thus the tradition, that Ralegh was born at Exeter, in the house adjoining the palace gate, is clearly erroneous. See Antiquities of Exeter, by Richard Izacke, Chamberlain of that city, 8vo. 1681, p. 147.

[24] Athen. Oxon. 1. *in Ralegh.*

adds,

adds, that Sir Walter remained three years at the University, in which, or in the above date, he and his biographical followers, are certainly mistaken. It is possible, indeed, that his name may have remained for three years on the boards of the Society, but we ſhall find him to have been abroad two years earlier, than the period to which this would bring us [25].

Anecdote of his youth.

Lord Bacon has preserved the following anecdote of Sir Walter Ralegh, while he was a student at Oxford. A cowardly fellow, who was a very good archer, having been grossly insulted by a neighbour, complained to Ralegh, and asked his advice *how he should repair the wrong which he had suffered.* Ralegh's answer was, *challenge him to a match of shooting* [26].

Did not study the law, as has been supposed.

Wood at last, justly concludes, that it is *uncertain* how long Ralegh remained at the University. It is still more uncertain, that he was ever a student in the Middle Temple, which the same writer asserts, because he had ſeen verses, written by him in that Inn of Court [27]. Sir Robert Naunton, who was Secretary of State at the time of Ralegh's death, consigns him to the study of the law on quitting Oxford [28]; and the greater part of Ralegh's biographers agree with Sir Robert in this point, having probably copied him. Mr. Lewis Theobald [29], however, in a later day, conceived it to be so obvious an error, that no merit could be claimed for correcting it. For, at his arraignment, Sir Walter, in a reply to the Attorney General, lays a heavy imprecation on himself, *if ever he read a word of law, or statutes, before he was a prisoner in the Tower* [30]. In addition to this, Hooker informs us, that after Ralegh *had laid a good ground to build his actions on* at the University, he went to France [31], which is also confirmed by Camden, by whose account, Sir Walter's age could not exceed seventeen, at the time of his departure to that country.

1569.

[25] Dr. Fuller, in his *Church History*, inserts Ralegh's name among the learned writers of Christ-church, as well as of Oriel; but it is difficult, to reconcile his having studied at that college also, with the fact in the text.

[26] Apothegms, No. 66.

[27] See p. 10 of this work.

[28] Fragmenta Regalia.

[29] Memoirs of Sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1719, p. 5.

[30] Trial of Sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1719, p. 25; and State Trials, Vol. I.

[31] See Appendix, No. I.

Ralegh

vantage of a period of unusual political activity to c[illegible]ourage his genius at his entrance into life. The glorious [illegible] our illustrious Elizabeth, less distinguished by its length, than by the vigour and success of her government, amid almost unexampled difficulties at home and abroad, and by the variety of important events occuring in the course of it [32], commenced in the seventh year of his age. The early part of it was employed in changing the odious scenes of persecution, which the reign of her predecessor had exhibited, and in promoting, with the soundest policy, the great work of the Reformation. When, at a later period, France became involved in civil war, Elizabeth, to avert a threatened danger from the encroaching power of Spain, aided the distressed and humble states of Holland. Philip [33], in political reprisal, raised stubborn insurrections in Ireland; and the Pope, to give the rebellion permanence and plausibility, embraced that kingdom in the circle of St. Peter.

State of politics.

It were impertinent to my subject to dwell on the origin of the Hugonots, and their opposition to the Guisards—to reconcile Queen Elizabeth's defence of another prince's oppressed subjects, at a moment when imminent danger, from such oppressions, threatened her own; or, to aggravate her motives against France, in particular, from the recent violation of covenants relative to the surrender of Calais. Suffice it to observe, that with her hands full at home, by the insurrections of the Earl of Northumberland and Leonard Dacres, she was not wanting in commiseration and assistance to the

Expedition to France.

[32] Witness the establishment of the Reformation, begun by Henry VIII. carried farther by Edward VI. but interrupted by the bigotry and cruelty of Mary; the support of the Protestant interest in France under Francis II.; Charles IX. and Henry III. till the absolute settlement of Henry IV. on the throne; the assistance she gave the Low Countries, in rescuing them from the yoke of Philip II.; her triumph over the whole force of Spain, more than once combined for her destruction; and the vast improvement of the naval strength and commerce of the nation.

[33] During his residence with his first wife, Mary Queen of England, Philip had been the protector of Elizabeth, who was then in no small danger from the violence of the Popish party. On her advancement to the throne, he offered her marriage; and his disappointment in that respect, her adherence to the Protestant interest, and her constant opposition of his immoderate ambition, made him at last her most implacable enemy.

perse-

persecuted Protestants of France. Having made use of her influence with other princes of the same persuasion in promoting the cause, she accepted a pledge of jewels against a loan of money to the Queen of Navarre, and permitted Henry Champernon, a relative by marriage to the Earl of Montgomery, to march into France with a select troop of well-equipped volunteers, one hundred in number, and all gentlemen. *Let valour decide the contest* was the motto on their standard. In the list were Philip Butshid, Francis Barcley, and Walter Ralegh; the two first afterward men of note, the last the most distinguished of them all, then a youth, and commencing his career [34].

Reception and Improvement.

This select troop of horse arrived in the French camp in October, 1569, (the beginning of the third civil war), and was received with great distinction by the Queen of Navarre, and the princes [35]. Although the French writers as well as our own, leave us in the dark as to its particular services in France, or the time of its continuance there, we may conclude that Ralegh gained considerable reputation in that country. Hooker says, *he spent good part of his youth in wars and martial services there* [36]; and another writer, who seems also to have known him, adds, speaking of his education, *it was not part, but wholly gentleman, wholly soldier* [37]. From these circumstances we may not only account for the chasm, which we find about this period in all the memoirs of Sir Walter's life; but may also presume, that, viewing the extensive and instructive scene of extraordinary

[34] The words of Camden are—*Quamvis illa hac rebellione domi implicata, Protestantibus tamen Galliæ non defuit, rebus eorum jam prope deploratis. Principes enim ejusdem professionis ad communem causam tutandam hortata, pecuniam, Navarræ reginæ monilibus pignori acceptis, suppeditavit, permisitque Henrico Champernouno (cujus patruelis Gawinus Comitis Montgomerii filiam in uxorem ceperat) in Galliam turmam centum equitum volonum nobilium ducere, qui vexillo inscripsit* FINEM DET MIHI VIRTUS. *Inter quos erant Philippus Butshidus, Franciscus Barcleius et Walterus Raleghus, admodum adolescens jam primum satis monstratus.* Annales Elizab. Ann. 1569. See Hearn's edition, 8vo. 1717, Vol. I. p. 198.

[35] ——— *III. Non. Oct. quo eodem die Henricus Champernounus cum* C *equitibus Anglis egregie instructis in castra venit, a Navarræ regina ac principibus honorifice exceptus, in cujus vexillo inscriptum erat* DET MIHI VIRTUS FINEM. Thuani sui temp. hist. lib 46. II. See Buckley's edition, folio, 1733, Vol. II.

[36] See Appendix, No. I.

[37] See Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost, or England's Forewarner, &c. Utretcht, printed by John Schellem, 4to. 1626, p. 15.

events,

events, which their political theatre at this time exhibited, he was initiated by this (then) polite, warlike, and diplomatic people, in those civil and military accomplishments, which he afterward so conspicuously displayed.

Ralegh was still in France after the death of Charles IX.[38] an event which took place about five years after his arrival in that kingdom; and as this interval embraces nearly thirty battles, sieges, treaties, and capitulations, the school must of necessity have proved a fine one for the initiation of our young volunteer. In his History of the World he has bequeathed us the following memorandum of this period. *I remember it well, that when the Prince of Condy was slain after the battle of Jarnac, (which prince, together with the Admiral Chastillon, had the conduct of the Protestant army) the Protestants did greatly bewail the loss of the said prince in respect of his religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hindrance to their affairs. For so much did the valour of the one out-reach the advisedness of the other, as whatsoever the admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage*[39]. By what means Ralegh escaped the horrible massacre of Paris and the provinces, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, 1572, we are left in uncertainty. It is probable, however, that he found refuge in the ambassador Walsingham's[40] house, in company with Lord Wharton, young Sidney, and others.

1574.

[38] For Hakluyt in the dedication prefixed to the first edition of his Voyages informs his patron he had been *five years* in France; and in his dedication to Ralegh of the Florida Voyages (see Appendix, No. II.), he writes, *calling to mind you had spent more years in France than I, &c.*

[39] See B. 5. c. ii. s. 3. and farther on, s. 8. he observes, *that worthy gentleman, Count Lodowick of Nassau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, made the retreat at Moncountour with so great resolution, as he saved one half of the Protestant army then broken and disbanded, of which myself was an eye-witness, and was one of them who had cause to thank him for it.*

[40] In Digges's Complete Ambassador, folio, 1655, p. 250, we read in a letter from Lord Burleigh, Leicester, and others, to Walsingham, dated Woodstock, Sept. 9, 1572, *we understand that the English gentlemen that were in Paris at the time of the execution of the murther, were forced to retire to your house, where they did wisely; for your care of them, we and their friends are beholding to you, and now we think good that they be advised to return home; and namely, we desire you to procure for Lord Wharton and Mr. Philip Sidney, the King's licence and safe conduct to come thence, and so we do require you to give them true knowledge of our minds herein.*

Return to England.

1575.

15-6.

His return to England is supposed to have tak[en] 1575. The following poem, *by Walter Rawely of* [illegible] was published the next year, prefixed to a satire [illegible] the Steele Glass [41], by George Gascoigne, Esq. a writer of repute in those days:

Sweet were the sauce would please each kind of taste,
The life likewise were pure that never swerv'd,
For spiteful tongues in canker'd stomachs plac'd,
Deem worst of things which best percase deserv'd.
But what for that? this med'cine may suffice
To scorn the rest, and seek to please the wise.

Tho' sundry minds in sundry sort do deem,
Yet worthiest wights yield praise for every pain;
But envious brains do nought, or light, esteem,
Such stately steps as they cannot attain:
For whoso reaps renown above the rest
With heaps of hate shall surely be oppress'd.

Wherefore, to write my censure of this book,
This *Glass of Steel* impartially doth shew
Abuses all to such as in it look
From prince to poor, from high estate to low.
As for the verse, who list like trade to try
I fear me much shall hardly reach so high.

This is the poem alluded to at page 6, and which led Wood to pronounce Ralegh a student in the Middle Temple. The manner in which the name is written *(Rawely)* would make us at least hesitate about ascribing this piece to Sir Walter; other circumstances, however, render it probable that he was the author of it. Among these we may mention, Gascoigne's acquaintance with Lord Grey de Wilton, appearing by his dedication to this and other of his works, and Ralegh's service in Ireland, as we shall find, under that nobleman.—Gascoigne had led a life similar to that of Ralegh in foreign travels, and military service; and subscribed the very motto *tam Marti quam Mercurio* to his picture prefixed to the above satire, which is so well known to have been afterward assumed by, or ap-

[41] See A Hundred several Flowers bound-up in one small Poesy, 4to, without date.

pro-

propriated to Ralegh himself. To these probabilities in favour of an acquaintance having subsisted between them, we may add the internal evidence of the poem itself, which exhibits throughout that solid axiomatical turn so distinguishing Ralegh's muse.

In allowing the poem to be Ralegh's, however, a new difficulty presents itself—*of the Middle Temple.* We have already seen, that he denied having studied the law before he was a prisoner in the Tower; and the registers of the Middle Temple of those times do not record his name, as a student of the law. It may however have been a custom of that time, as well as of the present, to let chambers in the inns of court to persons not following the profession. Old writings and historians of those times record, that *the inmates not only in private houses, but those who dwelt among the lawyers, and did not follow their profession, grew so numerous and inconvenient, that there was an order or proclamation for their removal out of the inns of court about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's, or the beginning of her successor's reign* [42]. With these facts in his hand, the reader will decide for himself on a point which is material chiefly with reference to the supposition that Ralegh had been a templar in his youth; and it is to be regretted that this is not the only poem, of those which have been usually ascribed to him, whose authenticity in regard to its author is incomplete. These pieces being also without dates, we are left to guess the period of his life at which they were written, from their complexion. Love, however, is so naturally the subject of the juvenile poet, that I hazard little risk of chronological error, by presenting my reader with the following pieces extracted from England's Helicon, and universally ascribed to Ralegh, before I quit the subject of his early muse:

The Nymph's Reply [43] *to the passionate Shepherd.*

If all the world and love were young,
And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move
To live with thee and be thy love.

Time

[42] Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 11.

[43] Isaac Walton informs us, that this *Reply* to Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd* was *made by Sir Walter Ralegh in his younger days.*—Mr. Wharton observes, that this *Reply* is in England's Helicon subscribed IGNOTO, *Ralegh's constant.*

Time drives the flocks from field to fold,
When rivers rage, and rocks grow cold;
And Philomel becometh dumb,
The rest complain of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields
To wayward winter reckoning yields;
A honey tongue—a heart of gall,
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Thy gowns, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies,
Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten,
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw and ivy buds,
Thy coral clasps and amber studs;
All these in me no means can move
To come to thee and be thy love.

But could youth last, and love still breed,
Had joys no date, nor age no need,
Then these delights my mind might move
To live with thee and be thy love.

constant signature—another very able critic contends, that this signature was affixed by the publisher, who meant to express by it his own ignorance of the author's name. Mr. Warton, however, had perhaps good reasons for his opinion, though he neglected to adduce them; and it is to be observed, that in Mr. Stevens's copy of the first edition of the Helicon, the original signature was W. R.; the second subscription of Ignoto (which has been followed in the subsequent editions) being, rather aukwardly, pasted over it (See Ellis's Specimens of the early English Poets). To enable the reader to judge better of the merit of the *Reply* and *Imitation*, I here subjoin Marlowe's original:

The Passionate Shepherd to his Love.

"Come live with me, and be my love,
And we will all the pleasures prove
That vallies, groves, and hills and fields,
Woods or steepy mountains yields.

And we will sit upon the rocks,
Seeing the shepherds feed their flocks,
By shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.

And I will make thee beds of roses,
And a thousand fragrant posies:
A cap of flowers and a kirtle,
Embroider'd all with leaves of myrtle:

A gown made of the finest wool,
Which from our pretty lambs we pull;
Fair lined slippers for the cold,
With buckles of the purest gold:

A belt of straw and ivy buds,
With coral clasps and amber studs;
And if these pleasures may thee move,
Come live with me, and be my love.

The shepherd swains shall dance and sing
For thy delight, each May morning:
If these delights thy mind may move,
Then live with me, and be my love."

Imitation

Imitation of MARLOW.

COME live with me, and be my dear,
And we will revel all the year,
In plains and groves, on hills and dales,
Where fragrant air breeds sweetest gales.

There shall you have the beauteous pine,
The cedar and the spreading vine,
And all the woods to be a screen,
Lest Phœbus kiss my summer's queen.

The seat for your disport shall be
Over some river, in a tree,
Where silver sands and pebbles sing
Eternal ditties with the spring.

There shall you see the Nymphs at play,
And how the Satyrs spend the day;
The fishes gliding on the sands,
Offering their bellies to your hands.

The birds with heavenly-tuned throats,
Possess wood's echoes with sweet notes;
Which to your senses will impart
A music to inflame the heart.

Upon the bare and leafless oak,
The ring-dove's wooings will provoke
A colder blood than you possess
To play with me, and do no less.

In bowers of laurel, trimly dight,
We will outwear the silent night,
While Flora busy is to spread
Her richest treasure on our bed.

Ten thousand glow-worms shall attend,
And all their sparkling lights shall spend,
All to adorn and beautify
Your lodging with most majesty.

Then in mine arms will I enclose
Lily's fair mixture with the rose;
Whose nice perfections in love's play
Shall tune me to the highest key.

Thus, as we pass the welcome night
In sportful pleasures and delight,
The nimble Fairies on the grounds
Shall dance and sing melodious sounds.

If these may serve for to entice
Your presence to love's Paradise,
Then come with me, and be my dear,
And we will straight begin the year.

The Shepherd to the Flowers.

SWEET violets, Love's Paradise, that spread
Your gracious odours, which you couched bear
Within your paly faces,
Upon the gentle wing of some calm-breathing wind,
That plays amidst the plain!
If, by the favour of propitious stars, you gain
Such grace, as in my lady's bosom place you find,
Be proud to touch those places;
And when her warmth your moisture forth doth wear,
Whereby her dainty parts are sweetly fed,
You, honours of the flowery meads, I pray,
You pretty daughters of the Earth and Sun,
With mild and seemly breathing straight display
My bitter sighs, that have my heart undone!—
* * * * * *

The Shepherd's Description of Love.

Melibeus. SHEPHERD, what's love? I pray thee, tell!
Faustus. It is that fountain, and that well,
Where pleasure and repentance dwell;
It is, perhaps, that *sauncing* bell
That tolls all in to heaven or hell;
And this is love, as I heard tell.

Mel. Yet, what is love? I prithee say!
Faust. It is a work on holiday;
It is December match'd with May,
When lusty bloods, in fresh array,
Hear, ten months after, of the play;—
And this is love, as I hear say.

Mel.

Mel. Yet, what is love? good shepherd, *saine!*
Faust. It is a sunshine mix'd with rain;
It is a tooth-ach, or like pain;
It is a game where none doth gain.
The lass saith, No, and would full fain!—
And this is love, as I hear saine.

Mel. Yet, shepherd, what is love, I pray?
Faust. It is a yea, it is a nay,
A pretty kind of sporting fray;
It is a thing will soon away;
Then, nymphs, take 'vantage while ye may!—
And this is love, as I hear say.

Mel. Yet, what is love? good shepherd, show!
Faust. A thing that creeps, it cannot go,
A prize that passeth to and fro,
A thing for one, a thing for *moe*;
And he that proves shall find it so;—
And, shepherd, this is love I trow.

Expedition to the Netherlands.

1577.

We now come to Ralegh's second military enterprise, the scene of which was laid in the Netherlands [44]. Don John of Austria, natural son of the Emperor Charles, was appointed governor of the Low Countries in the year 1577, by his brother the king of Spain. His tyranny drew upon him the odium of the States, while his treachery incurred the jealousy of England. Ralegh says of him, *his haughty conceit of himself overcame the greatest difficulties, though his judgment were over-weak to manage the least* [45]. He had formed the project of rescuing the Queen of Scots from prison, and by marriage with her, or the force of arms, of dethroning Elizabeth, and making himself master of her crown. That queen not only receded from the peace and neutrality then in agitation with the Spaniards, but furnished the States men and money, as they had requested, to enable them to carry on the war more powerfully against them [46]. It was here that Ralegh, under Sir John Norris, and in company with Sir Robert Stewart, Colonels North, Cavendish, Morgan, and others,

[44] See Naunton's Frag. Regal.
[45] Pref. to Hist. World.
[46] Camden's Elizab. An. 1578.

(whose

(whose veteran troops were the first perfect harquebusiers we had, and first taught us to esteem the musket,[47]) probably shared in the honours and dangers of the memorable Lammas-day in 1578; when his rashness[48] at the battle of Rimenant proved the grave of Don John's renown, a loss which himself only two months survived. The English and Scots, oppressed with a long and wearisome march, arrived on the field only a day, some say only an hour, before the battle commenced. Owing to the heat of the weather, or, in Lord Bacon's words, *being more sensible of a little heat of the sun than any cold fears of death*[49], they threw off their armour and cloaths, and in their shirts assisted to chastise Don John for the faithless treaties of peace with which he had abused the States.

1578.

Embarks for America.

On his return home Ralegh found an opportunity in the year 1579, of making a first essay on the other element, which, although it proved an unsuccessful one, is material, as it probably contributed to kindle in his mind those sparks of maritime enterprise, which afterward blazed forth with such peculiar splendor. Sir Humphry Gilbert, (his brother, as we have seen, by the mother's side,) had recently obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, for planting and inhabiting certain northern parts of America, unpossessed by any of her allies. Ralegh, ever rejoicing in an opportunity of advancing his knowledge and fortune, was readily engaged on his return to England to embark in the adventure. The coasts from Cape Florida to Newfoundland, had been discovered by the Cabots in the time of Henry VII. yet more inland researches, and the establishment of christianity, were still wanting; and the Newfoundland fishery had been greatly neglected since the reign of Edward VI. Sir Humphrey having procured an ample commission for restoring and improving these possessions, by piercing farther into those tracts which extend northward from the 25th degree, many gentlemen embraced the cause, and it was expected that a strong fleet would have been raised.

[47] See Sir Roger Williams' Brief Discourse of the Spanish Discipline in War, 4to, 1590; also his Actions of the Low Countries, 4to. 1618, p. 126.

[48] Fam. Strada de Bel. Belg. Ann. 1578.

[49] Discourse of War.

When

When the shipping was prepared, however, unanimity was wanting; some hesitated at subjection, others proved unequal to their engagements; and the majority dispersed, leaving Sir Humphrey to prosecute the adventure with only a few of his most faithful adherents, among whom was Ralegh [50]. With these few he ventured to sea, and after a smart action with the Spaniards, was compelled to return home with the loss of a large ship, and a gallant gentleman of the name of Miles Morgan [51]. The ships were preparing for this expedition late in the summer of 1578, and probably sailed in the early part of the year following [52].

1579.

Ralegh was now twenty-seven years of age, and had passed the ten last years of his life in the school of war and enterprise. We are told, that at this period he took uncommon pains to improve himself in every description of active duty. Only five of the twenty-four hours were devoted to sleep, four were regularly employed in study, and in his land and sea expeditions he voluntarily shared the labours, hardships, and hazards of the common soldier and sailor [53].

The Roman Catholics in Ireland, excluded from offices under the government, instigated by Popish priests, and encouraged by foreign potentates, were at this period on the eve of a general revolt [54]. At the same time Philip II. of Spain, although he had not yet come to

[50] See Appendix, No. I.

[51] See Capt. E. Haies' Report of Sir Humphry Gilbert's Voyage to Newfoundland, &c. in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 143, folio, 1600. A subsequent adventure to Newfoundland undertaken by these brothers-in-law, has been confounded with this unfortunate one—but from the second Sir Humphrey *returned no more*; and the course of that voyage is so particularly described, that we may assert no such sea-fight, or any desertion of adventurers, occurred therein.

[52] In the dedication to W. Fleetewood, Esq. Recorder of London, of an old dramatic piece by Geo. Whetstones, Gent. intituled, The History of Promos and Cassandra, the author writes, *he resolved to accompany that excellent Captain Sir Humphrey Gilbert in this honourable voyage*, and concludes with his prayers, that God would preserve him in it, 29 *July*, 1578.

[53] See Ralegh's Life, published by Shirley, and Tonson; and Lloyd's State Worthies.

[54] Oppressed by the authority of the several chiefs (who considered all improvements of industry and arts, and the introduction of a purer religion as destructive of their own power over their vassals,) Ireland could scarcely be esteemed subject to the government of England, which they were always ready to disturb by insurrections and rebellions, and to concur in any designs of the Pope or King of Spain.

an open rupture with Queen Elizabeth, was daily more exasperated against her from the injuries which he had committed and suffered. James Fitzmorris, repairing at this time to Rome, undertook to reduce the kingdom of Ireland to the obedience of the Holy See, and was furnished by the pope with a small sum of money, a consecrated banner, and letters of recommendation to the king of Spain. Eager to retaliate for the assistance which Elizabeth had given to his rebels in the Low Countries, Philip supplied Fitzmorris with seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, and three ships, which were sent into Ireland in the name of the Pope under the Spanish general San Josepho, accompanied by two priests, one of whom was dignified with the title of Nuncio. Landing at Smerwick in Kerry, they built a fort [55], and the Irish rebels, under Sir John and James, brothers to the Earl of Desmond, speedily resorted thither to join, as did the English forces to oppose them. Holinshed's celebrated Chronicles make very honourable mention of Ralegh's services in this rebellion, for which we are indebted to John Hooker, the *augmenter and continuer* of that part of them which relates to Ireland. The first notice we have of him is on occasion of Sir James of Desmond, who, in August, 1580, had seized some property belonging to the sheriff of Cork, and in the retaliation made by the sheriff's party, was wounded and taken prisoner. Upon which the Lord Justice Pelham, and the council, ordered him into the custody of Sir Warham Saintleger and *Captain Ralegh*, by whom, in virtue of the commission directed to them, he was tried and executed as a traitor [56].

1580.

A captain in Ireland.

Lord Grey came over to Ireland as Deputy, August 12th, 1580, and received the sword from Pelham about a month later. He had been instructed to shorten the Irish wars by an effectual prosecution [57], and of himself agreed in sentiment with a succeeding deputy, that, *like nettles the Irish make those smart who handle them gently, and to prevent stinging they must be crushed.* Joined at Rekell by the Earl of Ormond, and having now about eight hundred horse and foot

[55] Fort del Ore.
[56] See Holinshed's Chronicles, folio, 1586, Ireland, p. 168.
[57] Leland.

with

with him under Captains Ralegh, Zouch, Denny, Mackworth, and others, he decamped and marched for the fort which the Spaniards had built. Here Hooker relates the following anecdote:—*Captain Ralegh, notwithstanding that the lord deputy had raised his camp at Rekell, and was gone toward the fort, yet he tarried and staid behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not unknown unto him, that it was a manner among the Irish kerns*[58], *that whensoever any English camp was dislodged and removed, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus, therefore, lying and keeping himself very close, tarried and abode the coming of the said kerns; who, suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their manners and old usages to the said place, and there took their pleasure, who, when they were in their security, the captain and his men came upon them, and took them all. Among them there was one who carried, and was laden with withs*[59], *which they used instead of halters; and being demanded what he would do with them, and why he carried them, gave answer that they were to hang up English churls, for so they call Englishmen. Is it so? quoth the captain; well, they shall now serve for an Irish kern, and so commanded him to be hanged-up with one of his own withs; the residue he handled according to their deserts*[60]. Anecdote.

Meanwhile Captain Bingham, and soon afterward Sir William Winter, arrived in the Bay of Smerwick with fresh supplies, upon which Lord Grey resolved to besiege the fort by land, while Admiral Winter should attack it by sea. The Spaniards were then summoned to declare, *who they were? what they had to do there? who sent them thither? and why they made fortifications in Her Majesty's dominions?* with requisition to surrender the fort. Their answer was, *we are sent, some from the Holy Father, who has given this realm to King Philip, and some from King Philip, who is to receive and recover this land to the holy church of Rome, which, by Her Majesty's* Siege of Fort del Ore.

[58] Foot-soldiers.
[59] Willows.
[60] Holinshed, Ireland, p. 170.

 means,

means, is become schismatical, and out of the church, with other reproachful speeches; and that, therefore, *they were in that respect to keep what they had, and to recover what they had not.* They, moreover, took the opportunity of this parley to make a sally upon the English, but were so harrassed by the vigilance and valour of Ralegh's and Denny's companies, that those who were not killed, were compelled to retreat with the greatest precipitation. When completely prepared for the attack, the deputy gave the enemy another summons by cannon-shot to surrender, and receive mercy; but they repeated only their first answer. The artillery was now ordered to attack the fort both by sea and land, and Ralegh, having the command on the opening of the trenches, forced the Spaniards to several excursions. After a seige of five days San Josepho surrendered at discretion. The Italian general, and some officers, were made prisoners of war, but the chief part of the garrison was put to the sword by Lord Grey's order; a cruelty which greatly displeased Queen Elizabeth, and in the execution of which Ralegh was obliged to hold a principal share, having with Captain Mackworth the ward of that day [61].

Spenser. Upon his advancement to Ireland, Lord Grey had shewn his regard for genius and learning, by the choice he made of Spenser the poet for his secretary. It was probably at this time that the author of the Fairy Queen contracted that friendship with Ralegh, which proved so beneficial to him in the knight's more advanced fortunes, for after Sir Philip Sidney's death, Ralegh was his chief patron and friend at court. In his View of the State of Ireland in dialogue between Eudoxus and Ireneus, the poet has left us the following illustration of these transactions, which, as the conduct of the actors in this scene has been severely censured, it may not be improper to quote here in his own words:

EUDOX: ——— *For he (Grey) was always known to be a most just, sincere, godly, and right noble man, far from such sternness, far from such unrighteousness. But in that sharp execution of the*

[61] See Holinshed, Ireland, p. 171; and Camden's Elizab. ann. 1580.

Spaniards

Spaniards at the fort of Smerwick, I heard it specially noted, that if it were true, as some reported, surely it was a great touch to him in honour; for some say, that he promised them life; others, at least he did put them in hope thereof.

IREN: *Both the one and the other is most untrue; for this I can assure you, myself being as near them as any, that he was so far either from promising or putting them in hope, that when first their secretary (called, as I remember, Signior Jeffrey,) an Italian, being sent to treat with the Lord Deputy for grace, was flatly refused; and afterwards their colonel, named Don Sebastian, came forth to entreat, that they might part with their arms like soldiers, at least with their lives according to the custom of war and law of nations; it was strongly denied him, and told him by the Lord Deputy himself, that they could not justly plead either custom of war or law of nations; for that they were not any lawful enemies; and if they were, he willed them to shew by what commission they came thither into another prince's dominions to war, whether from the Pope or the King of Spain, or any other. The which when they said they had not, but were only adventurers, that came to seek fortune abroad, and to serve in wars amongst the Irish, who desired to entertain them; it was then told them, that the Irish themselves, as the Earl and John of Desmond with the rest, were no lawful enemies, but rebels and traitors; and therefore they that came to succour them, no better than rogues and runnagates, specially coming with no licence nor commission from their own king; so as it should be dishonourable to him in the name of his queen, to condition or make any terms with such rascals; but left them to their choice, to yield and submit themselves or no. Whereupon the said colonel did absolutely yield himself and the fort, with all therein, and craved only mercy: which it being not thought good to shew them, for danger of them, if, being saved, they should afterward join with the Irish; and also for terror to the Irish, who are much emboldened by those foreign succours, and also put in hope of more ere long; there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made. Therefore most untruly and maliciously do these evil tongues back-bite and slander the sacred ashes of that most just and honourable personage, whose least*

virtue

virtue of many most excellent that abounded in his heroic spirit, they were never able to aspire unto[62].

Adventures in Ireland.

The Chronicle already quoted, proceeds to relate the following adventures of Ralegh during his stay in Ireland. Lying in garrison at Cork, and finding that the complaints which had been made of the outrages daily practised by Barry, Condon, and others, met with little or no redress, he rode to Dublin himself, and informed the Lord Deputy, that unless these persons were proclaimed traitors, and pursued with all diligence, the greatest grievances to the good subjects in the neighbourhood were to be apprehended. The Lord Deputy and council accordingly granted him an additional force, with a commission to seize the person, lands, and castle of Barry, who in the meantime set fire to his castle, and laid waste his lands. The seneschall of Imokelly laid in ambush at a ford between Youghall and Cork, which Ralegh must pass, to cut off his return. Fortunately, however, his company happened to be dispersed at the time when Ralegh first reached the ford with only six attendants; and the latter, though pursued by the seneschall, gained the opposite bank of the river. Here Ralegh had an opportunity of twice saving the life of Henry Moile, one of his company; first, when his horse threw him into the river, and again when he fell into a deep mire. With a staff in one hand, and a pistol in the other, Ralegh stood his ground with the most valiant resolution, until the whole of his company had crossed the river; and, to use Hooker's words, "Neither the seneschal, nor any of them, being twenty to one, durst to give the onset upon him, but only railed and used hard speeches unto him, until his men behind had recovered, and were come unto him, and then, without any farther harm, departed[63]."

"It happened, that not long after," continues Hooker, "there was a parley appointed between the lord governor and the rebels, at which the seneschall was present, and stood much upon his reputation. Captain Ralegh being present began to charge him of his

[62] See Hughes' Edition of Spenser, vol vi. p. 1611.

[63] Holinshed, Ireland, p. 172, 173.

cowardness

cowardness before the Earl of Ormond, that he being twenty of his side to him alone, durst not to encounter with him; whereunto he gave no answer. But one of his men standing by said, that his master was that day a coward, but he would never be so forgetful again if the like service were to be done; and in many great terms exalted his master, the seneschall, for his valiantness and service. The Earl of Ormond hearing those great speeches, took the matter in hand, and offered unto the seneschall, that if he and Sir John of Desmond, there present, and three or four others, the best they could chuse, would appoint to meet him, Captain Ralegh, and such four others as they would bring with them, they would come to the same place, and pass over the great river unto them, and would there two for two, four for four, or six for six, fight and try the matter between them. But no answer was then given; whereupon the white knight was afterward sent unto him with this challenge, but the rebels refused it [64]."

Upon the Earl of Ormond leaving Ireland in the spring of 1581, Sir William Morgan, Captain Ralegh, and Captain Piers, received a commission to succeed him for the present in his government in Munster. Here they spent the summer of that year, chiefly at Lismore and the adjacent country, in continual services against the enemy, as occasion required. In the autumn Ralegh, with his band of fourscore foot and eight horse, set out on his return to Cork, and received information on the road, that Barry was at Clove with a considerable force. Taking that direction, he found him and his company, charged him with great bravery, and put him to flight. Then, pursuing his journey, he overtook a company of foot, which he charged with six of his horse, cut off the wood to which they were flying; and, leaving them without a hope of relief, compelled them to turn in despair and repel his attack, which they did with the most desperate bravery. Five of the horses were killed, among which was Ralegh's; and he had certainly lost his own life in this

1581.

[64] Holinshed, Ireland, p. 173.

skirmish,

skirmish, but for the gallant assistance he received from his trusty servant Nicholas Wright, a Yorkshireman, and James Fitz-Richard and Patrick Fagaw, Irishmen. Several of the enemy were slain, and two of them taken prisoners to Cork [65].

"At his lying in Cork," adds Hooker, "there were sundry pieces of service done by him, all which do very well deserve to be for ever registered; and among all others this one point of his service deserveth both commendation and perpetual remembrance." He then relates to us his seizure of Lord Roch, whose loyalty was become questionable, and Ralegh was appointed to bring him and his lady to Cork. Barry and the seneschall having knowledge of this arrangement, assembled a force seven or eight hundred strong to way-lay him. In the meantime Ralegh, having reflected on the danger of the enterprise, on a sudden ordered his men, about ninety horse and foot, to be ready on pain of death between ten and eleven o'clock that night, at which hour he set off for Roch's seat, Bally in Harsh, about twenty miles distant from Cork, and reached the castle-gate early the next morning. The towns-people were alarmed, and collected a party five hundred strong; upon which Ralegh disposed his forces in the town, and selecting six of his company, among whom were Arthur Barlow and Nicholas Wright, he proceeded quietly to the castle, and ordered another small party to follow. On the appearance of Roch's attendants he desired to speak with his lordship, and complied with apparent readiness with their request, that he should enter with only two or three of his followers. With some difficulty, however, they all passed the gate, and Ralegh instructed them to admit their followers by degrees, while he held Roch in conversation. Thus the whole party at last gained an entrance into the court-yard, each with a musket loaden with two balls; and Roch, dissembling his uneasiness, invited Ralegh and his company to partake of his table. After dinner the latter ingenuously declared the object of his visit, and produced his commission; whereupon Roch, after some excuses, made a virtue of necessity,

[65] Holinshed, Ireland, p. 173.

pro-

professing he could clear himself of whatever was alledged against him[66]. Ralegh also obtained his lordship's consent, that the towns-people, who had so faithfully risen in his defence at home, should escort and defend him on his journey, which he had determined should be made that night. It proved dark and tempestuous, and the way they went was so full of hills, dales, rocks, and precipices, that the soldiers suffered greatly. Yet the ambuscades of the enemy were evaded, and early the next morning Ralegh presented his prisoners to the general, "with no little admiration," says Hooker, "that he had escaped so dangerous a journey, being verily supposed of all men that he could never have escaped[67]."

Dissatisfied with the service.

A letter of his, which has not yet been printed, but of which a copy is preserved in the Harleian Collection[68], informs us, however, that this service was irksome and dissatisfactory to Ralegh. It is addressed to the celebrated Earl of Leicester, probably through the hands of Sir Warham Saintleger, and proves, what Ralegh's former biographers appear to have been unacquainted with, that he had early in life some interest with that powerful favourite of Queen Elizabeth:

Letter to Leicester.

"I MAY not forget continually to put Your Honour in mind of my affection unto Your Lordship, having to the world both professed and protested the same. Your Honour having no use of such your followers, hath utterly forgotten me; notwithstanding, if Your Lordship shall please to think me yours as I am, I will be found as ready, and dare do much in your service, as any man you may command; and do neither so much despair of myself, but that I may be some way able to perform as much. I have spent some time here under the Deputy in such poor place and charge, as were it not for that I knew him to be as if yours, I would disdain it as much as

[66] He made good his words, for he was honourably acquitted, proved a faithful subject ever afterward, and three of his sons lost their lives in Queen Elizabeth's service. HOLINSHED.

[67] Holinshed, Ireland, p. 174.

[68] No. 6993, iii.

to keep sheep. I will not trouble Your Honour with the business of this lost land; for that Sir Warram Sentleger can best of any man deliver unto Your Lordship, the good, the bad, the mischiefs, the means to amend, and all in all, of this common-wealth, or rather common-woe. He hopeth to find Your Honour his assured good Lord, and Your Honour may most assuredly command him. He is lovingly inclined toward Your Honour; and Your Lordship shall win by your favour toward him, a wise, faithful, and valiant gentleman, whose word and deeds Your Honour shall ever find to be one. Thus, having no other matter, but only to desire the continuance of Your Honour's favour, I humbly take my leave. From the Camp of Lismore in Ireland, August the 25th,

Your Honour's faithful and obedient,

W. RALEGH.

"I am bold, being bound by very conscience, to commend unto Your Honour's consideration the pitiful estate of John Fitz-Edmonds of Cloyne, a gentleman, and the only man untouched and proved true to the queen both in this and the last rebellion. Sir Warram can deliver his service, what he is, and what he deserveth.

"*To the Right Hon. and my very good Lord the Earl of Leicester, of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.*"

In August, 1581, Lord Grey appointed Captain John Zouch to the government of Munster, and Ralegh made several excursions in company with him to compose the country, their head-quarters being still at Cork. When Zouch and Captain Dowdal made the secret expedition, in which Sir John of Desmond lost his life, the garrison at Cork was left in Ralegh's charge. Barry, however, soon afterward submitted; the Earl of Desmond, deprived of all remaining

maining hope, was quiet, and Munster left in peace; the southern troops were suddenly reduced to an inconsiderable number, and Ralegh appears no more in the wars of Ireland [69].

[69] Holinshed, Ireland, p. 175 and 176, and Leland. In the Report which he afterward wrote of Sir Richard Grenvill's engagement at the Azores, Ralegh makes the following remarks on the Desmonds: *The earl being one of the greatest subjects in that kingdom of Ireland, having almost whole countries in his possession, so many goodly manors, castles, and lordships, the count palatine of Kerry, 500 gentlemen of his own name and family to follow him, beside others, (all which he possessed in peace for three or 400 years) was in less than three years after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holds, not so many as ten gentlemen of his name left living, himself taken, and beheaded by a soldier of his own nation, and his land given by a parliament to Her Majesty, and possessed by the English.—Sir John of Desmond taken by Master John Zouch, and his body hanged over the gates of his native city to be devoured by ravens; the third brother, Sir James, hanged, drawn, and quartered in the same place.* See Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. Part II. p. 174, folio, 1599.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

HIS extraordinary services in Ireland were of themselves sufficient to recommend Ralegh to the favour of Queen Elizabeth. But tradition has related an incident, which, however romantic it may appear, has been seriously recorded by grave and approved authors[1], and which ascribes to his gallantry his first introduction to his sovereign. The queen in her walks[2] met one day, it is said, with a dirty spot in the road, which made her hesitate about proceeding. Our gallant young soldier, whose person was handsome, and his address graceful, threw off his new plush mantle, and spread it for Her Majesty, who trod gently over the fair carpet, surprised and pleased at the adventure[3]. The queen admitted him to her court, and he was employed by her in 1582, first to attend Simier, the artful agent of the Duke of Anjou her proposed husband, on his return into France; and afterward to escort the duke himself to Antwerp, after the final breaking-off of this intended alliance. In Leicester's Commonwealth[4], a tract to which Camden has given great credit, we read, that in revenge for Simier's discovery to the queen of Leicester's secret marriage with the widow of Essex, the earl's revenge went so far as to lead him to employ pirates to sink the ambassador at sea; and the author writes, "though they missed of this practice (as not daring to set upon him for fear of some of Her Majesty's ships, who, to break off this designment, attended by special commandment to waft him over in safety,) yet the aforesaid English gentlemen were holden four hours in chase at their coming

Introduction at Court. 1582.

Attends Simier to France.

[1] Fuller's Worthies *in Devon*, &c.

[2] The use of coaches was introduced by the Earl of Arundel shortly *after* this time, (Anderson I. 421.) Till then, on public occasions, the queen rode behind her chamberlain.

[3] Less credible is Fuller's other story, that Ralegh coming to court, and finding hope of the queen's favour, wrote in a conspicuous place,

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall:

under which Her Majesty wrote,

If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.

[4] Quarto, 1641, p. 37.

back,

back, as Mr. Ralegh well knoweth, being then present: and two of the chasers named Clark and Harris confessed afterward the whole designment."

Attends the Duke of Anjou to Antwerp.

When the duke himself left this kingdom, the queen attended him in person as far as Dover, and a splendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen, among whom was Ralegh, waited upon him to Antwerp. Ralegh appears to have made a longer stay there than Howard, Leicester, young Sidney, and others of the retinue; and from the opportunity which he had of becoming personally acquainted with the Prince of Orange, to have been honoured by him with some especial commands to Queen Elizabeth. In an essay[5] written by him many years afterward, he ascribes the flourishing state of the Hollanders to the favour and assistance of our crown, "which," he writes, "the late worthy and famous Prince of Orange did always acknowledge; and in the year 1582, when I took my leave of him at Antwerp, after the return of the Earl of Leicester into England, and Monsieur's arrival there, when he delivered me his letters to Her Majesty, he prayed me to say to the queen from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur*, for certainly they had withered in the bud, and sank in the beginning of their navigation, had not Her Majesty assisted them[6]."

Quarrel with Lord Grey.

During the Munster rebellion a disagreement of some consequence had taken place between Lord Grey and Ralegh. In August, 1582, that nobleman resigned the sword of Ireland; and it was probably soon afterward, that the matter alluded to was brought to a hearing in this country. A crowd of later writers, vainly attempting to excel the more genuine authority of Sir Robert Naunton, and taking principally conjecture for their guide, have attributed the origin of this dispute to various causes. Some have repeated the preference given to Captain Zouch in the government of Munster[7]; while others have ascribed to Ralegh a too eager pursuit of honour unac-

[5] Discourse of the Invention of Ships, Anchors, Compass, &c. II. 87.

[6] See Birch's Works of Ralegh, 8vo. 1751,

[7] See end of Chap I.

com-

companied by exact obedience to military command. It is, however, vain for us to attempt to find the true cause, when Naunton himself was ignorant of it, whose words on the occasion are "I am somewhat confident, that among the second causes of his growth, was the variance between him and my Lord General Grey, in his second[8] descent into Ireland, which drew them both over to the council-table, there to plead their own causes; where what advantage he had in the case in controversy I know not, but he had much the better in the manner of telling his tale; insomuch as the queen and the lords took no slight mark of the man and his parts, for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the lords; and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply to progression; and whether or no my Lord of Leicester had then cast in a good word for him to the queen, which would have done him no harm, I do not determine; but true it is he had gotten the queen's ear in a trice, and she began to be taken with his election, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands. And the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea, those that he relied on began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantion, and to project his; which made him shortly after sing,

"*Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown*[9]."

To this I may add, that the probability that Leicester was instrumental in the advancement of Ralegh, appears to be strengthened by the letter from the latter to that powerful favourite, quoted in the preceding chapter.

Second adventure with Gilbert.

But the inactive life of a courtier was ill-adapted to the enterprising spirit of Ralegh. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent already mentioned in Chap. I. was dated June 11th, 1578, and allowed him six years from that day for taking possession of the territories which he designed to colonize. His fruitless attempt in 1579 has already

[8] Oldys, in his Life of Ralegh, p. 11, justly censures Naunton for an error, in ascribing to Ralegh *two* expeditions into Ireland, in the early part of his life. The first of these Sir Robert places before the expedition to the Netherlands, and, what is surprising, appears ignorant of Ralegh's long service in France.

[9] Fragmenta Regalia.

been

been related. The great preparations he then made, and the miscarriage of the expedition, had so impaired his fortune, that he was for a time obliged to lay aside the project. He then granted assignments from his general grant to some persons of property, for planting and fortifying about the river Canada; but his assigns proving likewise dilatory, he now once more undertook a voyage in person to Newfoundland to keep his patent in force. It was probably with a view that it should accompany his brother, that Ralegh had built a vessel of two hundred tons burthen, which he called Bark Ralegh. At any rate he determined to hold a share in the expedition, though not in person; and accordingly fitted out this bark at his own expence. Sir Humphrey, by the assistance of Sir George Peckham and others, collected four more vessels. The interest which the queen took in his welfare and success, is described in the following letter to him from Ralegh:

"BROTHER,

"I HAVE sent you a token from Her Majesty, an anchor guided by a lady as you see; and farther, Her Highness willed me to send you word, that she wished you as great good hap and safety to your ship, as if herself were there in person, desiring you to have care of yourself as of that which she tendereth; and therefore, for her sake, you must provide for it accordingly. Farther she commandeth, that you leave your picture with me. For the rest I leave till our meeting, or to the report of this bearer, who would needs be the messenger of this good news: so I commit you to the will and protection of God, who send us such life or death as he shall please, or hath appointed! Richmond, this Friday morning,

Your true brother,

W. RALEGH[10]."

"*To my Brother,*

"*Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Kt.*"

[10] The indorsement informs us, that this letter was received March 18th, 158$\frac{2}{3}$. Pomerey Gilbert, Esq. fort-major at Plymouth, and a descendant of Sir Humphrey, furnished Dr. Birch a copy from the original.—See Dr. B's Collections in Brit. Mus. No. 4231.

The

The little fleet was equipped with 260 men, including shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, refiners, and musicians. It sailed from Plymouth on the 11th of June, 1583; and at midnight on the 13th following Bark-Ralegh, fortunately for her owner, was obliged to part company with the fleet on account of a contagious disease among the crew, and she returned to Plymouth in great distress[11]. The tragical conclusion of this voyage is, that after reaching Newfoundland, and taking possession in right of the English crown, two of Sir Humphrey's vessels were lost on their passage home; in one of which he himself suffered, and only one ship of the fleet returned to England.

1583.

Obtains letters patent for discoveries.

In a mind less enterprising than Ralegh's the ill-success of this attempt, and the loss of life and fortune, which his brother had suffered, would have proved sufficient to have damped the ardour of maritime enterprize. His aspiring character, however, rose superior to all these difficulties; and no sooner was his ship returned from the last expedition, than we find him projecting a new one, in which he was himself to be the principal proprietor. The discoveries of Columbus, the conquests of Cortez, Pizarro, and other Spanish leaders, who, under Charles, and his son Philip II. had so surprisingly extended the dominions of their princes, had been the favourite subjects of his early reading and conversation. His noble genius had been so possessed with the idea of such grand and national undertakings, that no trifling personal inconveniences, or particular misadventures, could daunt him from attempting them. The Spaniards had as yet settled only on the middle and southern parts of America, and vast territories remained to the North as fit for settlement, and as easy of conquest. Their way into the gulph of Mexico was by St. Domingo and Hispaniola, where the currents and trade-winds ran together, and set into the bay. They came out by the Havanna and the channels of Bahama, since called the gulph of

[11] See Capt. Edward Haies' (who accompanied the expedition) Report of the voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 143, he adds, *the reason I could never understand—sure I am no cost was spared by their owner Mr. Ralegh in setting them forth, therefore I leave it unto God.*

Florida;

Florida; and as they returned by this gulph found a continued coast to the west of them stretching northward, of which they lost sight by standing away to the east to make the Spanish coast. It was thus pretty evident, that a large extent of country was to be found north of the gulph, which might be worth colonising, and Ralegh projected the attempt. Having digested his plan of proceeding, he laid it before the queen and her council. The undertaking appeared so rational and practicable, that Her Majesty was pleased to grant him her letters patent, in date March 25th, 1584, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, "to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him or them should seem good, to hold the same with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, and privileges, &c. [12]" 1584.

Our venerable Strabo, Camden, the cotemporary of Ralegh, has justly remarked, that he is never sufficiently to be commended for the great pains he took in discovering remote countries, and advancing the glory of the English navigation and trade [13]. No sooner was this patent obtained, than two barks commanded by Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe were equipped for an American voyage, and they put to sea on the 27th of April, 1584. Oldys asserts, that Ralegh fitted out these two vessels at his own expence; while others affirm, that his friends, Sir Richard Greenville, Mr. William Saunderson, and other gentlemen, were co-partners with him in the undertaking. The latter relation appears to be the more probable one; for, although the beams of royal favour began now to dawn on Ralegh, it would be difficult to account how a younger son of a large, and not very flourishing family, whose own ascent in the world was still in its infancy, should find himself equal to such considerable undertakings.

The Virginian colony is of so much consequence, as well in refe-

[12] See these letters patent at large in the Appendix, No. III.

[13] —— *Walterus Raleghus, magna apud Elizabetham gratia florens, nunquam satis laudato studio remotas regiones detegendi et navalem Angliæ gloriam promovendi.*—Ann. Elizab. 1585, Edit. Hearn. II. p. 448.

rence to the subsequent importance of the settlement, as to the conspicuous event which it forms in Ralegh's story, that I [illegible] shall not trespass too much upon the patience of my reader by [illegible] ing at some length on its early history, and producing such of the original papers as illustrate it; which, while their authenticity is unquestionable, must be allowed to afford a truer picture than any other of the situations they describe. Hakluyt, the celebrated naval historian, was cotemporary with Ralegh, and has preserved the following narrative of the first voyage, written by Captain Barlowe [14]:

The first Voyage made to the Coasts of America, with two Barks, wherein were Captains M. PHILIP AMADAS, *and* M. ARTHUR BARLOWE, *who discovered Part of the Country now called Virginia, Anno* 1584; *written by one of the said Captains, and sent to Sir* WALTER RALEGH, *Kt. at whose Charge and Direction, the said Voyage was set forth.*

1st Voyage to Virginia.

"The 27th day of April, in the year of our redemption 1584, we departed the west of England, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandments delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of Thames. And I think it a matter both unnecessary for the manifest discovery of the country, as also for tediousness sake, to remember unto you the diurnal of our course, sailing thither and returning; only I have presumed to present unto you this brief discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeed, as well to yourself, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose servants this our discovery hath been performed) as also to Her Highness and the commonwealth, in which we hope your wisdom will be satisfied, considering that as much by us hath been brought to light, as by those small means and number of men we had, could any way have been expected or hoped for.

[14] See the superscription of the Voyage, and p. 36, (line 4 and 5 from the bottom) of this work.

The

The tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the tenth June in this present year, we were fallen with the islands of the Indies, keeping a more south-easterly course than was needful, for we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, discovered between the Cape of Florida and Havannah, had been of greater force than afterward we found it to be. At which islands the air very unwholesome, and our men grew for the most part ill-disposed; so that having refreshed ourselves with sweet wines and fresh victual, we departed the twelfth day of our arrival there. These islands, with the rest adjoining, are so well known to many, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be far distant; and keeping good watch, and bearing but slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three harquebus-shot within the haven's mouth, on the left hand of the same; and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as rightful Queen and Princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to Her Majesty's grant and letters patent, under Her Highness' great seal. Which, being performed according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandy and low toward the water-side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them, of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little

shrub, as also climbing toward the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found; and myself having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the sea-side toward the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean height, and from thence we beheld the sea on both sides to the north, and to the south, finding no end any of both ways. This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long, and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood we beheld the vallies replenished with goodly cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebus-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.

This island had many goodly woods full of deer, conies, hares, and fowl, even in the midst of summer in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars of the world, far bettering the cedars of the Azores, of the Indies, or Libanus; pines, cyprus, sassaphras, the lentisk, or the tree that beareth the mastick, the tree that beareth the rind of black cinnamon, of which Master Winter brought from the Streights of Megellan, and many other of excellent smell and quality. We remained by the side of this island two whole days before we saw any people of the country; the third day we espied one small boat rowing toward us, having in it three persons; this boat came to the island side, four harquebus-shot from our ships, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore-side toward us; and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us. Then the master and the pilot of the Admiral, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captain Philip Amadas, myself, and others, rowed to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any shew of fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt

a hat, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, meat, which he liked very well; and after having viewed he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he the cove or creek adjoining; as soon as he was too bow- fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came the land, and there he divided his fish into two part to the ship and the other to the pinnace; he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefits, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the King's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by Her Majesty Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats altogether, as the first man did, a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat afar off. When we came to the shore to him with our weapons he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and being set he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and breast, and afterward on ours, to shew we were all one, smiling and making shew the best he could of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time; only the four which were at the other end, spake one in the others ear very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced; the King himself in person was at our being there, sore wounded

wounded in a fight which he had with the King of the next country, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once clean through the thigh, but yet he recovered; by reason whereof, and for that he lay at the chief town of the country, being six days journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gave somewhat to the other that sat with him on the mat; but presently he arose and took all from them and put it into his own basket, making signs and tokens that all things ought to be delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants and followers. A day or two after this we fell to traffick with them, exchanging some things that we had for chamois', buff, and deer skins; when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he saw, a bright tin dish most pleased him, which he presently took up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemies' arrows; for those people maintain a deadly and terrible war with the people and king adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth twenty crowns, or twenty nobles; and a copper kettle for fifty skins worth fifty crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for swords; but we would not part with any. After two or three days the King's brother came aboard the ships and drank wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof; and after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter, and two or three children. His wife was very well favoured, of mean stature, and very bashful; she had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur-side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same; about her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times; in her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle, (whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort had

pendants

...pper hanging in either ear, and some of the children ...rother and other noblemen, have five or six in either ...f had upon his head a broad plate of gold or copper, ...olished we knew not what metal it should be, neither ...y means suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling ... very easily. His apparel was as his wife's, only ... their hair long on both sides, and the men but on ...e of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the ... yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and ...d hair.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dies very excellent, and exchanged with us; but when Granganimeo, the king's brother, was present, none durst trade but himself, except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himself; for that is the difference between the noblemen and governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their king, nobility, and governors, than these do. The king's brother's wife, when she came to us (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women always; and when she came into the ship she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more. The king's brother always kept this order, as many boats as he would come withall to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached. Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine or of pitch-trees; a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tools to make them withal; if they have any they are very few, and those it seems they had twenty years since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wreck which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only

only the ship, or some part of her, being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boat is thus: they burn down some great tree, or take such as are wind-fallen, and putting gum and rosin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their shells, and wherever they would burn it deeper or wider they lay on gums, which burn away the timber, and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport twenty men. Their oars are like scoops, and many times they sit with long poles, as the depth serveth.

The King's brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had, and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them; but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them know that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew; which now your worship doth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise; for many times we delivered him merchandize upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brace or two of fat bucks, conies, hares, fish, the best of the world. He sent us divers kinds of fruits, melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and divers roots and fruits very excellent good, and of their country corn, which is very white, fair, and well tasted, and groweth three times in five months; in May they sow, in July they reap; in June they sow, in August they reap; in July they sow, in September they reap; they only cast the corn into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turf with a wooden mattock or pick-axe; ourselves proved the soil, and put some of our peas in the ground, and in ten days they were of fourteen inches high; they have also beans very fair of divers colours, and wonderful plenty; some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so have they both wheat and oats.

The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world; there are above fourteen several sweet-smelling timber-trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bays, and such like; they

have those oaks that we have, but far greater and better. After we had been divers times aboard our ships, myself, with seven others, twenty miles into the river that runneth toward the city of Which river they call Occam; and the evening following we came to an island which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially; when we came toward it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of Granganimeo, the King's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billow; others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our cloaths and washed them, and dried them again; some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

After we had thus dried ourselves she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house some wheat like furmenty; sodden venison, and roasted; fish sodden, boiled, and roasted; melons raw and sodden; roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits; their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine; and, for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassaphras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the

manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth; their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory; their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweet, their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber; within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied we began to look one toward another, and offered to reach our weapons; but as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore; she, perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men, and thirty women, to sit all night on the bank-side by us, and sent us into our boats fine mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to intreat us to rest in their houses; but because we were few men, and if we had miscarried, the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not adventure any thing although there was no cause of doubt; for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

Beyond this island there is the main land, and over against this island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called Occam by the inhabitants, on which standeth a town called Pomeiock; and six days journey from the same is situate their greatest city called Skicoak, which this people affirm to be very great; but the savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirm it to be above one hour's journey about.

Into

Into this river falleth another great river called Cipo, in which there is found great store of muscles in which there are pearls; likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another river called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great town called Chawanook, and the Lord of that town and country is called Pooneno; this Pooneno is not subject to the King of Wingandacoa, but is a free lord; beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Toward the south-west, four days journey, is situate a town called Sequotan, which is the southermost town of Wingandacoa, near unto which, six and twenty years past, there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the country people preserved.

And after ten days remaining in an out-island unhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boats of the country together, and made masts unto them, and sails of their shirts, and having taken into them such victuals as the country yielded, they departed after they had remained in this out island three weeks; but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boats were found upon the coast, cast a-land in another island adjoining; other than these, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seen or heard of among these people, and these aforesaid were seen only of the inhabitants of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondered marvelously when we were among them at the whiteness of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Beside, they had our ships in marvellous admiration, and all things else were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seen the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an harquebus, they would tremble thereat for very fear, and for the strangeness of the same; for the weapons which themselves use are bows and arrows; the arrows are but of small canes, headed with a sharp shell or tooth of a fish sufficient enough to kill a naked man. Their swords be of wood hardened; likewise they use wooden breast-plates for their

defence. They have beside a kind of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharp horns of a stag, or other beast. When they go to wars they carry about with them their idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the Romans were wont of the oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march toward the battle instead of drums and trumpets; their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civil dissentions which have happened of late years among them, the people are marvellously wasted, and in some places the country left desolate.

Adjoining to this country aforesaid, called Secotan, beginneth a country called Pemouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piemacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoining toward the setting of the sun, and the country Newsiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus; these kings have mortal war with Wingina, King of Wingandacoa; but about two years past there was a peace made between the King Piemacum and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England have given us to understand; but there remaineth a mortal malice in the Secotans, for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. They invited divers men, and thirty women of the best of his country, to their town to a feast; and when they were all together merry, and praying before their idol, (which is nothing else but a mere illusion of the devil) the captain or lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and slew them every one, reserving the women and children; and these two have oftentimes since persuaded us to surprize Piemacum's town, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their persuasion be to the end they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they bear to us, we leave that to the trial hereafter.

Beyond this island called Roanoak, are many islands very plentiful of fruits and other natural increases, together with many towns and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the islands, and some stretching up farther into the land.

When

When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent; but after we entered into the haven, we saw before us another mighty long sea; for there lieth along the coast a tract of islands two hundred miles in length, adjoining to the ocean-sea, and between the islands two or three entrances; when you are entered between them (these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more,) then there appeareth another great sea, containing in breadth in some places forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over before you come unto the continent; and in this inclosed sea there are above an hundred islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteen miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Beside this island there are many, as I have said, some of two, of three, of four, of five miles, some more, some less, most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with deer, conies, hares, and divers beasts; and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Thus, Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery made this present voyage, as far forth as the shortness of the time we there continued would afford us to take view of; and so contenting ourselves with this service at this time, which we hope hereafter to enlarge, as occasion and assistance shall be given, we resolved to leave the country, and to apply ourselves to return for England, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the west of England about the midst of September.

And whereas we have above certified you of the country taken in possession by us to Her Majesty's use, and so to yours by Her Majesty's grant, we thought good for the better assurance thereof, to record some of the particular gentlemen, and men of account, who then were present as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cavil to the title of the country in Her Majesty's behalf may be prevented,

prevented, which otherwise such as like not the action may use and pretend, whose names are:

Master PHILIP AMADAS, } *Captains.*
Master ARTHUR BARLOWE, }

WILLIAM GREENEVILE, }
JOHN WOOD, }
JAMES BROWEWICH, }
HENRY GREENE, } *Of the Company.*
BENJAMIN WOOD, }
SIMON FERDINANDO, }
NICHOLAS PETMAN, }
JOHN HEWES, }

We brought home also two of the savages, being lusty men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo[15]."

Ralegh laid before Her Majesty these reports of the riches and beauty of the country which his ships had visited; and his gracious sovereign, either because this was the first discovery of it, or because it was found in the reign of a *virgin-queen*, was pleased to confer on it the name Virginia. He was also so well supported on the approaching session of parliament, that he was elected one of the knights of the shire for the county of Devon, in company with Sir William Courtenay[16]; and we find him chosen in the committee upon several bills then read. On December 14th, 1584, the bill confirming his patent for the discovery of foreign countries was read a first time; and in four days, after many arguments and the addition of a proviso, it passed the house upon the question[17].

Virginia named.

Sits in Parliament.

Knighted.

The imperfect records of those times do not enable us to fix with precision on what day Ralegh received the honour of knighthood. It was certainly, however, about this time; for, being in a committee for a supply by subsidy to Her Majesty on the 24th of Feb-

[15] See Hakluyt's Voyages III, 246.
[16] See Willis' Notitia Parliamentaria, 8vo. 1716, II, 254.
[17] See D'Ewes' Journals, *Commons*, 1584 and 85.

ruary,

ruary, 1585, we find him for the first time stiled Sir Walter Ralegh [18]. It has been justly remarked of Queen Elizabeth, that she kept the temple of honour closely shut, and bestowed titles with frugality and great discrimination [19]. An intelligent observer of her reign has remarked, that *no prince then extant took an exacter estimate of her subjects' abilities to serve her, or made a deeper inspection into their aptitude, nature, and humours, to which, with a rare dexterity, she fitted her favours and their employments; as may be instanced in Sir Francis Vere, a man nobly descended, Sir Walter Ralegh, exactly qualified, with many others set apart in her judgment, for military services, whose titles she never raised above knighthood, saying, when importuned to make General Vere a baron, that in his proper sphere, and in her estimation, he was above it already; therefore, all could be expected from such an addition would be the entombing of the spirit of a brave soldier, in the corpse of a less sightly courtier; and by tempting him from his charge, hazard that repute upon a carpet, his valour had dearly purchased him in the field* [20].

1585.

To enable Ralegh the better to carry on his designs in foreign countries, Queen Elizabeth had granted him a patent for licensing the venders of wine throughout the kingdom, about the same time as the former patent. This grant we find involved him soon afterward in a dispute with the University of Cambridge. In virtue of his general patent he had licensed John Keymer to sell wine in the

Patent for wine licences.

[18] See D'Ewes' Journals, p. 356.

[19] Sir Edward Walker, garter and secretary at war to Charles I. observes, that *in all Queen Elizabeth's forty-four years reign she created but six earls and eight or nine barons; so that when she died, the nobility consisted but of one marquis, nineteen earls, two viscounts, and about thirty barons:* but doubts, *whether in the reign of King James the dispensing of honours so liberally was not one of the beginnings of general discontents, especially among persons of great extraction. So that when this king died, having reigned but twenty-two years, he left the nobility in his three kingdoms, above double the number to what he found them, though his reign was peaceable, and not full of action, which renders men in capacity highly to merit from their prince, and so without envy receive advancement. When alliance to a favourite, riches though gotten in a shop, persons of private estates, and of families, that many of them, and their fathers, would have thought themselves highly honoured to have been but knights in Queen Elizabeth's time, were advanced, then the fruits thereof began to appear,* &c. Histor. Discourses, fol. 1705, p. 300, &c.

[20] Osborn's Traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Art. 17.

town

town of Cambridge, who was opposed in the exercise of this privilege by Baxter, an esquire-beadle, who held a licence from the University for the same purpose. A degree of persecution and monkish brutality was allowed to pass uncensured on this occasion, which was disgraceful to a learned seminary, and which had nearly proved fatal to the wife of Keymer. Complaint being made to Sir Walter, he addressed a letter on the subject to Dr. Howland, the vice-chancellor of the year. But the haughty insolence of cloistered greatness suffered this appeal to be twice repeated before his letters[21] were answered, and Baxter was in the mean time thrown into prison. A conciliatory letter was at last written to Ralegh; and the opinion[22] of the two chief-justices, Sir Christopher Wraye and Sir Edmond Anderson, deciding in favour of the University, the doctors strutted, and the squabble was at an end.

North-west passage.

Adrian Gilbert, Esq. of Sandridge, afterward Sir Adrian Gilbert, having, in pursuance of his unfortunate brother Sir Humphrey's projects, been at some expence in discovering a north-west passage to India; and having obtained a patent from Her Majesty in 1583, to pursue the scheme by partners, under the firm, the Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-west Passage, Sir Walter became an associate in the enterprize, the conduct of which was submitted to Captain John Davis. He sailed with two barks in the summer of 1585. Discovering land in 66° 40′ clear of ice, they anchored in a fine road under a mountain, *the cliffs whereof were as orient as gold*, which they named Mount Ralegh. Davis-streights derived their name from this commander, and two subsequent voy-

[21] Mr. Baker of St. John's College, Cambridge, copied these letters from the originals for his own collection, and they were seen by Oldys through the favour of Lord Oxford.—See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 26, note *b*.

[22] Thus worded:—*First touching the nomination of vintners there, we think it appertaineth to the University by usage and charters from Her Majesty, confirmed by parliament, and that Mr. Rawlie can nominate none there. For the price, it seemeth they may set prices, so as it be according to the statute, and not otherwise; and if the vintners set at higher prices, they are to be punished by law. Which penalty Mr. Rawlie may dispense withal, and yet cannot sue for the penalty by his patent against the statute laws, for therein all liberties to the University are excepted.* John Strype's Annals of the Church, 1728, III, 343.

ages,

ages, to use the Captain's words, made *the passage most probable, and the execution easy*[23].

In the mean time the favourable report made by Barlowe and Amadas of Virginia, naturally induced Ralegh to pursue that adventure. Early in 1585 seven sail of ships were ready for sea, the command of which was given to Sir Richard Greenville. They sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, having on board the colony of above one hundred men, designed to be planted in that country under the government of Mr. (afterward Sir) Ralph Lane. The journal of this voyage, which Hakluyt has preserved, while it is too concise to weary the attention of the reader, will afford him a juster idea of the progress of this important adventure, than any abstract description of it which I could give him.

The Voyage made by Sir RICHARD GREENVILLE, *for* Sir WALTER RALEGH, *to Virginia, in the Year* 1585.

2d Voyage to Virginia.

"The 9th day of April, in the year abovesaid, we departed from Plymouth, our fleet consisting of the number of seven sails, to wit: the Tiger, of the burden of seven score tons; a fly-boat, called the Roebuck, of the like burden; the Lion of a hundred tons, or thereabouts; the Elizabeth, of fifty tons; and the Dorothy, a small bark; whereunto were also adjoined for speedy services, two small pinnaces. The principal gentlemen of our company were these: Master Ralph Lane, Master Thomas Candish, Master John Arundel, Master Raymund, Master Stukeley, Master Bremige, Master Vincent, and Master John Clarke, and divers others, whereof some were captains, and other some assistants for counsel, and good directions in the voyage[24].

April 14th, we fell with Lancerota and Forteventura, isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our course for Dominica,

[23] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III, 98, &c.

[24] These navigators knew no other course from England to Virginia, than *to the Canaries, Hispaniola, the Gulph of Mexico, out by Cuba and the Gulph of Bahama, coasing from Florida to Virginia*, a proof that these were first attempts.

one of the Antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the 7th day of May; and the 10th day following we came to an anchor at Cotesa, a little island situate near to the Island of St. John, where we landed and refreshed ourselves all that day.

May 12th, we came to an anchor in the Bay of Moskito, in the Island of St. John, within a falcon-shot of the shore; where our general, Sir Richard Greenville, and the most part of our company landed, and began to fortify very near to the sea-side; the river ran by the one side of our fort, and the other two sides were environed with woods.

May 13th, we began to build a new pinnace within the fort, with the timber that we then felled in the country, some part whereof we fetched three miles up in the land, and brought it to our fort upon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

May 16th, there appeared unto us out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our fort, staying about half an hour in viewing our forces; but as soon as they saw ten of our shot marching toward them, they presently retired into the woods.

May 19th, Master Candish, who had been separated from our fleet in a storm in the Bay of Portugal, arrived at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger; we thinking him afar off to have been either a Spaniard or French man-of-war, thought it good to weigh anchors, and to go room with him; which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts; for joy of whose coming our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the manner of the seas.

May 22d, twenty other Spanish horsemen shewed themselves to us upon the other side of the river; which being seen, our general dispatched twenty foot-men toward them, and two horsemen of ours, mounted upon Spanish horses, which we before had taken in the time of our being on the island; they shewed to our men a flag of truce, and made signs to have a parley with us; whereupon two of our men went half of the way upon the sands, and two of theirs came

came and met them; the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began, according to their Spanish proud humours, to expostulate with them about their arrival and fortifying in their country, who, notwithstanding, by our men's discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principal intention was only to furnish ourselves with water and victuals, and other necessaries, whereof we stood in need, which we craved might be yielded us with fair and friendly means, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieve ourselves by the sword) the Spaniards in conclusion, seeing our men so resolute, yielded to our requests with large promises of all courtesy, and great favour; and so our men and theirs departed.

May 23d, our pinnace was finished and launched; which being done, our general, with his captains and gentlemen, marched up into the country about the space of four miles, where, in a plain marsh, they stayed expecting the coming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish us with victuals; who, keeping their old custom for perjury and breach of promise, came not; whereupon our general fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboard to be ready to set sail the next morning.

May 29th, we set sail from St. John's, being many of us stung before upon shore with the musquitos; but the same night we took a Spanish frigate, which was forsaken by the Spaniards upon the sight of us, and the next day in the morning very early we took another frigate with good and rich freight, and divers Spaniards of account in her, which afterward we ransomed for good round sums, and landed them in St. John's.

May 26th, our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the frigates which we had taken, to Roxo Bay upon the south-west side of St. John's to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish pilot; as soon as he arrived there he landed with his men to the number of twenty, and intrenched himself upon the sands immediately, compassing one of their salt hills within the trench; who,

being seen of the Spaniards, there came down toward him two or three troops of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking and gazing on, but durst not come near him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane, maugre their troops, carried their salt aboard, and laded his frigate, and so returned again to our fleet the 29th day, which rode at St. German's Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the Island of Hispaniola.

June 1st, we anchored at Isabella, on the north side of Hispaniola.

June 3d, the Governor of Isabella, and Captain of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had been well entertained aboard our ships by our general, that in our fleet were many brave and gallant gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the governor aforesaid, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our general, promising within few days to come to him in person, which he performed accordingly.

June 5th, the aforesaid governor, accompanied with a lusty friar, and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants and negroes, came down to the sea-side where our ships rode at anchor, who, being seen, our general manned immediately the most part of his boats with the chief men of our fleet, every man appointed and furnished in the best sort; at the landing of our general the Spanish governor received him very courteously, and the Spanish gentlemen saluted our English gentlemen; and their inferior sort did also salute our soldiers and seamen, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in fear of us, and of so many of our boats, whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all fear and mistrust on the Spaniards' part was abandoned.

In the meantime while our English general and the Spanish governor discoursed betwixt them of divers matters; as of the state of the country, the multitude of the towns and people, and the commodities of the island, our men provided two banqueting-houses covered with green boughs, the one for the gentlemen, the other for

for the servants, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in served by us all in plate, with the sound of trumpets and concert of music, wherewith the Spaniards were more than delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniards in recompence of our courtesy, caused a great herd of white bulls and kine to be brought together from the mountains, and appointed for every gentleman and captain that would ride, a horse ready saddled, and then singled out three of the best of them to be hunted by horsemen after their manner; so that the pastime grew very pleasant for the space of three hours, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one took the sea, and there was slain with a musket. After this sport many rare presents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts, and the next day we played the merchants in bargaining with them by way of truck and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, bulls, goats, swine, sheep, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearl, tobacco, and such like commodities of the island.

June 7th, we departed with great good-will from the Spaniards from the Island of Hispaniola; but the wiser sort do impute this great shew of friendship and courtesy used toward us by the Spaniards, rather to the force that we were of, and the vigilance and watchfulness that was among us, than to any hearty good-will or sure friendly entertainment; for, doubtless, if they had been stronger than we, we might have looked for no better courtesy at their hands, than Master John Haukins received at St. John de Ullua, or John Oxnam near the streights of Darien, and divers others of our countrymen in other places.

June 8th, we anchored at a small island to take seals, which in that place we understood to have been in great quantity, where the general and certain others with him in the pinnace were in very great danger to have been all cast away, but by the help of God they escaped the hazard, and returned aboard the Admiral in safety.

June 9th, we arrived and landed in the Isle of Caycos, in which island we searched for salt-ponds, upon the advertisement and information

formation of a Portuguese; who indeed abused our general and us, deserving a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased us.

June 12th, we anchored at Guanima, and landed.

June 15th and 16th, we anchored and landed at Cyguateo.

June 20th, we fell with the main of Florida.

June 23d, we were in great danger of a wreck on a breach called the Cape of Fear.

June 24th, we came to anchor in a harbour, where we caught in one tide so much fish as would have yielded us twenty pounds in London; this was our first landing in Florida.

June 26th, we came to anchor at Wocokon.

June 29th, we weighed anchor to bring the Tiger into the harbour, where, through the unskilfulness of the master, whose name was Fernando, the Admiral struck on ground and sunk.

July 3d, we sent word of our arriving at Wococon to Wingina at Roanoak.

July 6th, Master John Arundel was sent to the main, and Manteo with him; and Captain Aubry and Captain Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there, with thirty others by Captain Reymond, some twenty days before.

July 8th, Captain Aubry and Captain Boniten returned, with two of our men, found by them, to us at Wocokon.

July 11th, the General, accompanied in his tilt-boat with Master John Arundel, Master Stukeley, and divers other gentlemen; Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twenty others in the new pinnace; Captain Amadas, Captain Clarke, with ten others, in a ship-boat; Francis Brooke and John White in another ship-boat, passed over the water from Wococon to the main land victualled for eight days, in which voyage we first discovered the towns of Pomeiok, Aquascogok, and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the savages Paquipe, with divers other places, and so returned with that discovery to our flee

July 12th, we came to the town of Pomeiok.

July 13th, we passed by water to Aquascogok.

July

July 15th, we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the savages.

July 16th, we returned thence, and one of our boats with the Admiral was sent to Aquascogok, to demand a silver cup which one of the savages had stolen from us, and not receiving it according to his promise, we burnt and spoiled their corn and town, all the people being fled.

July 18th, we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our fleet riding at Wococon.

July 21st, our fleet anchoring at Wococon, we weighed anchor for Hatorask.

July 27th, our fleet anchored at Hatorask, and there we rested.

July 29th, Grangino, brother to King Wingina, came aboard the Admiral, and Manteo with him.

August 2d, the Admiral was sent to Weapomeiok.

August 5th, Master John Arundel was sent for England.

August 25th, our General weighed anchor, and set sail for England.

About August 31st, he took a Spanish ship of 300 tons richly laden, boarding her with a boat made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunk at the ship's side, as soon as ever he and his men were out of it.

September 10th, by foul weather the General then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tiger.

September 6th the Tiger fell with the Land's End, and the same day came to anchor at Falmouth.

September 18th, the General came with the prize to Plymouth, and was courteously received by divers of his worshipful friends[25]."

The advantages here described appear not to have been the only circumstances of good fortune which this year attended Ralegh.

[25] Then follows a list of 107 persons, among whom are Amadas and Hariot, who remained a year in Virginia *under the government of Mr. Ralph Lane.* See Hakluyt's Voyages, III, 251.

After

After an end had been made of the Munster rebellion by force of arms, the country groaned under a severe famine, which assisted the ravages of the sword; and Queen Elizabeth now deliberated how the extensive territories of the late Earl of Desmond might be disposed of to the greatest advantage. Her favourite scheme was to re-people Munster with an English colony. Commissioners were sent over, fraudulent conveyances were prevented, and a scheme was resolved upon for the plantation of Munster, the instructions for which were carried over by Secretary Fenton late in 1585. The whole forfeiture exceeded five hundred and seventy-four thousand acres, out of which certain restitutions were made, and the remainder was divided in seigniories, principally among the persons who had been instrumental in suppressing the rebellion, with right of succession to their heirs, and certain privileges and immunities on condition of planting and improving. A division of twelve thousand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford was granted to Ralegh [26], which he planted at his own expence; and at the end of the queen's reign he sold it to Richard Boyle, afterward Earl of Cork [27], who acknowledged this purchase to have been a leading step toward the large fortune which he afterward acquired.

His estate in Ireland.

Though England has since excelled all European nations, as well in the situation of their colonies as in the noble principles of liberty and industry on which they are founded, her early attempts in forming such settlements were, it must be confessed, highly unsuccessful. As no man undertook such enterprizes with greater spirit, so none more truly experienced the hardships of them than Ralegh, as we shall find by attending to the narrative transmitted by Mr. Lane of his Virginian adventures.

[26] See Cox and Leland.

[27] See True Remembrances of Richard Boyle Earl of Cork, in Birch's Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, 8vo. 1744, p. 8, 9.

An Extract of Master RALPH LANE'S *Letter to* M. RICHARD HAKLUYT, Esq. *and another Gentleman of the Middle Temple, from Virginia.*

" In the meanwhile you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenvile's departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the main to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; so abounding with sweet trees that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gums, grapes of such greatness, yet wild, as France, Spain, nor Italy have no greater; so many sorts of apothecary-drugs, such several kinds of flax, and one kind like silk, the same gathered of a grass as common there as grass is here. And now within these few days we have found here maize or guinea-wheat, whose ear yieldeth corn for bread 400 upon one ear, and the cane maketh very good and perfect sugar; also Terra-samia, otherwise Terra-sigillata. Beside, that it is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely; and the climate so wholesome, that we had not one sick since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure myself, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it. For this already we find, that what commodities soever Spain, France, Italy, or the East-parts do yield unto us, in wines of all sorts, in oils, in flax, in rosins, pitch, frankincense, currants, sugars, and suchlike; these parts do abound with the growth of them all, but, being savages that possess the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies have, here we find great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous, and very desirous to have cloaths, but especially of coarse cloth rather than silk; coarse canvas they also like well of, but copper carrieth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus, good Lane's Letter.

M. Hakluyt and M. H. I have joined you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearly well; and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty. From the New Fort in Virginia, this 3d of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend,

RALPH LANE.[28]"

An Account of the Particularities of the Employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia by Sir RICHARD GREENVILE, *under the Charge of* Master RALPH LANE, *General of the same, from the 17th of August, 1585, until the 18th of June, 1586, at which Time they departed the Country; sent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.*

Occurences in Virginia.

"That I may proceed with order in this discourse, I think it requisite to divide it unto two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the country within the main, as our weak number and supply of things necessary did enable us to enter into the discovery of.

The second part shall set down the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the General Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barks, pinnaces, and boats with the masters and mariners meant by him to be left in the country for the supply of such, as for a farther time meant to have stayed there, were carried away with tempest and foul weather; in the beginning whereof shall be declared the conspiracy of Pemisapan, with the savages of the main, to have cut us off, &c.

The first Part, declaring the Particularities of the Country of Virginia.

First, therefore, touching the particularities of the country, you shall understand that our discovery of the same hath been extended

[28] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III, 254.

from

from the Island of Roanoak, (the same having been the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the south, into the north, into the north-west, and into the west.

The uttermost place to the southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation four-score miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the main, the same being without kenning of land, and yet full of flats and shoals; we had but one boat with four oars to pass through the same, which boat could not carry above fifteen men with their furniture, baggage, and victual for seven days at the most; and as for our pinnace, beside that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stir for an oar; for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leave the discovery of those parts until our stronger supply.

To the northward our farthest discovery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoak about 130 miles; the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the breadth of the sound, and the little succour that upon any flaw was there to be had.

But the territory and soil of the Chesepians (being distant fifteen miles from the shore) for pleasantness of seat, for temperature of climate, for fertility of soil, and for the commodity of the sea, beside multitude of bears, (being an excellent good victual) with great woods of sassafras and walnut-trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

There be sundry kings, whom they call Weroances, and countries of great fertility adjoining to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visit the colony of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the north-west the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook, distant from Roanoak about 130 miles. Our passage thither lieth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channel of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the channel full of shoals.

The towns about the water-side situated by the way, are these

following: Passaquenoke, the Woman's-town, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwem; all these being under the jurisdiction of the King of Weapomeiok, called Okisco; from Muscamunge we enter into the river, and jurisdiction of Chawanook; there the river beginneth to straighten until it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth.

Between Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as we pass thither is a goodly high land, and there is a town which we called The Blind Town, but the savages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corn field belonging unto it; it is subject to Chawanook.

Chawanook itself is the greatest province and seigniory lying upon that river, and the very town itself is able to put 700 fighting men into the field, beside the forces of the province itself.

The king of the said province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise, for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country, and the disposition of his own men, but also of his neighbours round about him, as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yieldeth. When I had him prisoner with me for two days that we were together, he gave me more understanding and light of the country than I had received by all the searches and savages that before I or any of my company had had conference with; it was in March last past, 1586. Among other things he told me, that going three days journey in a canoe by his river of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within four days journey to pass over land north-east to a certain king's country, whose province lieth upon the sea; but his place of greatest strength is an island situate, as he described unto me, in a bay, the water round about the island very deep.

Out of this bay he signified unto me, that this king had so great quantity of pearl, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not only his own skins that he weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen

tlemen and followers, are full set with the said pearl, but also his beds and houses are garnished with them, and that he hath such quantity of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the said king was with him at Chawanook two years before, and brought him certain pearl, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he fain to buy them of him for copper at a dear rate, as he thought. He gave me a rope of the same pearl, but they were black and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few among a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine coming aboard Sir Francis Drake's fleet; yet he told me that the said king had great store of pearl that were white, great, and round, and that his black pearl his men did take out of shallow water, but the white pearl his men fished for in very deep water.

It seemed to me by his speech, that the said king had traffic with white men that had cloaths as we have, for these white pearl, and that was the reason that he would not part with other than with black pearls to those of the same country.

The King of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go over land into that king's country whensoever I would; but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victual; for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his country, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any pearl there, and that he was able to take a great many men into the field, which he said would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolved with myself, that if your supply had come before the end of April, and that you had sent any store of boats, or men to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to have found us until the new corn were come in, I would have sent a small bark with two pinnaces about by sea to the northward to have found out the bay he spake of, and to have sounded the bar, if there were any, which should have ridden there in the said bay about that island; while I, with all the small boats I could make, and with two hundred men

would

would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guides that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have been assured should have been of his best men, (for I had his best beloved son prisoner with me) who also should have kept me company in an handlock with the rest, foot by foot, all the voyage over land.

My meaning was farther, at the head of the river in the place of my descent where I would have left my boats, to have raised a sconce with a small trench, and a palisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boats, I would have left five and twenty or thirty men; with the rest would I have marched with as much victual as every man could have carried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades, and axes, two days journey. In the end of my march upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconce according to the former, where I would have left fifteen or twenty. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way, I would have raised my said sconce upon some corn field, that my company might have lived upon it.

And so I would have holden this course of insconsing every two days march, until I had been arrived at the bay or port he spake of; which finding to be worth the possession, I would there have raised a main fort, both for the defence of the harbour, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak, and from the harbour and port there, (which by proof is very naught) unto this other before-mentioned, from whence, in the four days march before specified, could I at all times return with my company back unto my boats, riding under my sconce, very near whereunto, directly from the west, runneth a most notable river, and in all those parts most famous, called the river of Moratoc. This river openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the river of Chawanook, and all the other sounds and bays, salt and fresh, shew no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind: this river of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the west and south-west, that it made me almost of opinion, that with oars it would scarce be navigable; it passeth with

many

many creeks and turnings, and, for the space of thirty miles rowing and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich and the Isle of Dogs, in some places more, and in some less; the current runneth as strong, being entered so high into the river, as at London Bridge upon a vale water.

And for that not only Menatonon, but also the savages of Moratoc themselves, do report strange things of the head of that river; and that from Moratoc itself, which is a principal town upon that river, it is thirty days, as some of them say, and some say forty days voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a main rock in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent stream; and farther, that this huge rock standeth so near unto a sea, that many times in storms (the wind coming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water for a certain space groweth salt and brackish; I took a resolution with myself, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransom agreed for, and sent his son into the pinnace to Roanoak, to enter presently so far into that river with two double wherries, and forty persons, one or other, as I could have victual to carry us, until we could meet with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kind of savages, dwelling more to the westward of the said river; but the hope of recovering more victual from the savages made me and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discovery before our return, as ever men did that missed the same.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choanists and Mangoaks word of my purpose touching them, I having been enforced to make him privy to the same to be served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet he did never rest to solicit continually my going upon them, certifying me of a general assembly, even at that time, made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances and allies, to the number of three thousand bows, preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were joined in the same confederacy, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the

the enterprise; and true it was, that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my coming thither, which being unlooked for, did so dismay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacy against us of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himself, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them; on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning toward us.

He in like sort having sent word to the Mangoaks of my intention to pass up into their river, and to kill them (as he said,) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before we were entered into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their towns along the river, and retired themselves with their Crenepos *(women)*, and their corn within the main; insomuch as having passed three days voyage up the river, we could not meet a man, nor find a grain of corn in any their towns; whereupon, considering with myself that we had but two days victual left, and that we were then 160 miles from home, beside casualty of contrary winds or storms, and suspecting treason of our own savages in the discovery of our voyage intended, though we had no intention to be hurtful to any of them, otherwise than for our copper to have had corn of them; I at night upon the corps of guard, before the putting forth of centinels, advertised the whole company of the case we stood in for victual, and of my opinion that we were betrayed by our own savages, and on purpose drawn forth by them upon vain hope to be in the end starved, seeing all the country fled before us; and therefore while we had those two days victual left, I thought it good for us to make our return homeward, and that it were necessary for us to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where we might be relieved upon the wears of Chypanum, and the Women's-town, although the people were fled.

Thus much I signified unto them as the safest way; nevertheless I did refer it to the greatest number of voices, whether we should adventure the spending of our whole victual in some farther view

of

of that most goodly river in hope to meet with some better hap, or otherwise to retire ourselves back again. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter, and in the morning at our going aboard to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholy was (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion) that while there was left but one half pint of corn for a man, we should not leave the search of that river, and that there were in the company two mastiffs, upon the pottage of which with sassafras-leaves (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to live two days, which time would bring them down the current to the mouth of the river, and to the entry of the sound, and in two days more at the farthest they hoped to cross the sound, and to be relieved by the wears, which two days they would fast rather than be drawn back a-foot till they had seen the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please me, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterward did happen, I pretended to have been rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks, either in friendship, or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the country, that there is a province to the which the said Mangoaks have recourse and traffic up that river of Moratoc, which hath a marvellous and most strange mineral. This mine is so notorious among them, as not only to the savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the savages of Chawanook, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the main; the country's name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The mineral they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every metal whatsoever; they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better than theirs; and the reason is, for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft and pale; they say that they take the said metal out of a river that falleth very swift from high rocks and hills,

and they take it in shallow water; the manner is this. They take a great bowl, by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the mineral; that done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop down the said bowl with the skin, and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doth yield in five parts, at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore. Of this metal the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the savages adjoining, that they beautify their houses with great plates of the same; and this to be true, I received by report of all the country, and particularly by young Skiko, the King of Chawanook's son, my prisoner, who also himself had been prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set down all the particularities to me before-mentioned; but he had not been at Chawnis Temoatan himself; for he said, it was twenty days journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said mineral country, and that they passed through certain other territories between them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

Upon report of the premises, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the savages that dwelt toward those parts, and especially of Menatonon himself, who in every thing did very particularly inform me, and promised me guides of his own men, who should pass over with me, even to the said country of Chaunis Temoatan (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey from sun-rising to sun-setting, whereas by water it is seven days with the soonest.) These things, I say, made me very desirous by all means possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yielded to their resolution; but it fell out very contrary to all expectation and likelihood; for after two days travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we could never see man, only fires we might perceive made along the shore

shore where we were to pass, and up into the country, until the very last day. In the evening whereof, about three of the clock, we heard certain savages call, as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them; but Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us; which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shore, but there lighted a volley of their arrows among them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediately the other boat lying ready with their shot to scour the place for our hand weapons to land upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steep, the savages forthwith quitted the shore, and betook themselves to flight. We landed, and having fair and easily followed for a small time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where; the sun drawing then toward the setting, and being then assured that the next day if we would pursue them, though we might happen to meet with them, yet we should be assured to meet with none of their victual, which we then had good cause to think of; therefore chusing for the company a convenient ground in safety to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of guard, and putting out good centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sun to be going back again, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto; for they were now come to their dog's porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befel them, which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The end was, we came the next day by night to the river's mouth within four or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day down the current, as much as in four days we had done against the same; we lodged upon an island where we had nothing in the world to eat but pottage of sassafras-leaves, the like whereof for a meat was never used before

as I think. The broad sound we had to pass the next day all fresh and fasting; that day the wind blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibility of passage without sinking of our boats. This was upon Easter-eve, which was fasted very truly. Upon Easter-day in the morning, the wind coming very calm, we entered the sound, and by four of the clock we were at Chipanum, whence all the savages that we had left there were fled, but their wears did yield us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost; for some of our company of the light horsemen were far spent. The next morning we arrived at our home Roanoak.

I have set down this voyage somewhat particularly, to the end it may appear unto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least among us, to have perfected this discovery of the mine; for that the discovery of a good mine by the goodness of God, or a passage to the South Sea, or some way to it and nothing else, can bring this country in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will be the most sweet and healthfulest climate, and therewithal the most fertile soil (being manured) in the world; and then will sassafras, and many other roots and gums there found, make good merchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth the fetching.

Provided also, that there be found out a better harbour than yet there is, which must be to the northward, if any there be, which was mine intention to have spent this summer in the search of, and of the mine of Chaunis Temoatan; the one I would have done, if the barks that I should have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesy, had not been driven away by storm; the other, if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to us in any convenient sufficiency. For this river of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots, the head of it, by the description of the country, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico, or else from very near unto the same, that openeth out into the South Sea.

And

And touching the mineral, thus doth M. Youghan affirm, that though it be but copper, seeing the Savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harbour found to the northward, as before is said, and from thence four days over-land to the river of Choanoak sconces being raised, from whence again overland through the province of Choanoak, one day's voyage to the first town of the Mangoaks up the river of Moratico by the way, as also upon the said river for the defence of our boats, like sconces being set; in this course of proceeding you shall clear yourself from all those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gain within four days travel into the heart of the main 200 miles at the least, and so pass your discovery into that most notable country, and to the likeliest parts of the main, with far greater felicity than otherwise can be performed.

Thus, Sir, I have, though simply, yet truly set down unto you, what my labour, with the rest of the gentlemen, and poor men of our company, (not without both pain and peril, which the Lord in his mercy many ways delivered us from) could yield unto you; which might have been performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had been pleased that only that which you had provided for us had at the first been left with us, or that he had not in his eternal providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisdom of man could look into; which truly the carrying away by a most strange and unlooked for storm of all our provision, with barks, master, mariners, and sundry also of mine own company, all having been so courteously supplied by the general, Sir Francis Drake, the same having been most sufficient to have performed the greatest part of the premises, must ever make me to think the hand of God only (for some his good purpose to myself yet unknown) to have been in the matter.

The Second Part touching the Conspiracy of Pemisapan, the Discovery of the same, and at the last of our Request to depart with Sir FRANCIS DRAKE *for England.*

Ensenore, a savage, father to Pemisapan, being the only friend to our nation that we had among them, and about the king, died the 20th of April, 1586. He alone had before opposed himself in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the king and all the rest of them after Grangemoe's death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not only by the mere providence of God during his life, a mean to save us from hurt, as poisonings and such like, but also to do us very great good, and singularly in this.

The king was advised, and of himself disposed, as a ready mean to have assuredly brought us to ruin in the month of March, 1586, himself also with all his savages to have run away from us, and to have left his ground in the island unsowed; which, if he had done, there had been no possibility in common reason, (but by the immediate hand of God) that we could have been preserved from starving out of hand. For at that time we had no wears for fish, neither could our men skill of the making of them, neither had we one grain of corn for seed to put into the ground.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists and Mangoaks, they had raised a bruit *(report)* among themselves, that I and my company were part slain, and part starved by the Chaonists and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Nevertheless, until my return it took such effect in Pemisapan's breast, and in those against us, that they grew not only into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew of the Almighty God of heaven and Jesus Christ, whom we serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confess the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that

that our Lord God was not God, since he suffered us to sustain much hunger, and also to be killed by the Renapoaks, for so they call by that general name all the inhabitants of the whole main, of what province soever. Insomuch as old Ensenore, neither any of his fellows could for his sake have any more credit for us; and it came so far that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But even in the beginning of this bruit I returned, which when he saw contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that he had received; that not only myself and my company were all safe, but also by report of his own three savages, which had been with me beside Manteo in that voyage; that is to say, Tetepano, his sister's husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chaonists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude, beside their valour, is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) durst not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his son that he best loved to Roanoak with me, it did not a little assuage all devices against us; on the other side, it made Ensenore's opinions to be received again with greater respect. For he had often before told them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that we were the servants of God, and that we were not subject to be destroyed by them; but contrariwise, that they among them that sought our destruction, should find their own, and not be able to work ours, and that we being dead men were able to do them more hurt, than now we could do being alive; an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest among them, and of their old men, as also that they have been in the night, being 100 miles from any of us, in the air shot at, and struck by some men of ours, that by sickness had died among them; and many of them hold opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world again, and that we do not remain dead but for a certain time, and that then we return again.

All these speeches then again grew in full credit with them, the king and all, touching us, when he saw the small troop returned again,

again, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them; but that which made up the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea, rather (as all the rest was) the good providence of the Almighty for the saving of us, which was this:

Within certain days after my return from the said journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visit his son the prisoner with me, and sent me certain pearl for a present, or rather as Pemisapan told me, for the ransom of his son, and therefore I refused them; but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signify unto me, that he had commanded Okisko, king of Weopomiok, to yield himself servant and homager to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Ralegh; to perform which commandment received from Menatonon, the said Okisko jointly with this Menatonon's messenger sent four and twenty of his principal men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signify that they were ready to perform the same, and so had sent those his men to let me know, that from that time forward he and his successors were to acknowledge Her Majesty their only sovereign, and next unto her as is aforesaid.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his savages in counsel then with him, it did for the time thoroughly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us; insomuch as forthwith Ensenore won this resolution of him, that out of hand he should go about, and withal to cause his men to set up wears forthwith for us; both which he at that present went in hand withal, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantity of ground, so much as had been sufficient to have fed our whole company (God blessing the growth) and that by the belly for a whole year; beside that he gave us a certain plot of ground for ourselves to sow. All which put us in marvellous comfort, if we could pass from April until the beginning of July, (which was to have been the beginning of their harvest,) that then a new supply out of England, or else our own store, would well enough maintain us; all our fear was of the two months betwixt, in which mean space, if the savages

should

should not help us with Cassaui and Chyna, and that our wears should fail us, (as often they did) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corn; like the starving horse in the stable, with the growing grass, as the proverb is; which we very hardly had escaped but only by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try us. For within few days after, as before is said, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but, certain of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand again to put their old practices in use against us, which were readily embraced, and all their former devices against us renewed, and new brought in question. But that of starving us by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by having made the king all at one instant to sow his ground, not only in the island, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the main, within two leagues over against us. Nevertheless there wanted no store of mischievous practices among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

First, that Okisko, king of Weopomeiok, with the Mandoages should be moved, and with great quantity of copper entertained, to the number of seven or eight hundred bows, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be invited to a certain kind of months-mind, which they do use to solemnise in their savage manner for any great personage dead, and should have been for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians and their friends to the number of 700 of them, be armed at a day appointed to the main of Desamonquepeio, and there lying close at the sign of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troop above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principal officers,) the main forces of the rest should have come over into the island, where they meant to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to find both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the island, seeking of

crabs and fish to live withall. The manner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon, two principal men about Pemisapan, and very lusty fellows, with twenty more appointed to them, had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they meant should in this sort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reeds that the same was covered with; meaning (as it was likely) that myself would have come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without arms, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my brains.

The same order was given to certain of his fellows, for M. Heriots; so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is said, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the town. Now to the end that we might be the fewer in number together, and so be the more easily dealt withal (for indeed ten of us without arms prepared, were a terror to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed, and did immediately put it in practice, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever; beside, that in the night they should send to have our wears robbed, and also to cause them to be broken, and once being broken never to be repaired again by them. By this means the king stood assured, that I must be enforced for lack of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the savages themselves do, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corn growing; which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreme among us, our wears failing us of fish, that I was enforced to send Captain Stafford with twenty with him to Croatoan, my Lord Admiral's island, to serve two turns in one; that is to say, to feed himself and his company, and also to keep watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warn us of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnace to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Provost Marshal to live there, and also to wait for shipping;

also,

also, I sent every week sixteen or twenty of the rest of the company to the main over against us, to live of casada and oysters.

In the mean while Pemisapan went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: the one to see his grounds there broken up, and sowed for a second crop; the other to withdraw himself from my daily sending to him for supply of victual for my company, for he was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst he in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the end as I had reason, to give him the jump once for all; but, in the meanwhile, as I had ever done before, I and mine bear all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to have relied myself with Menatonon and the Chaonists, who in truth, as they are more valiant people, and in greater number than the rest, so are they more faithful in their promises, and since my late being there had given many tokens of earnest desire, they had to join in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him believe such tales of us.

The third cause of his going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid; all which he did with great impress of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoil.

The answer within few days after came from Weopomeiok, which was divided into two parts. First, for the king Okisko, who denied to be of the party for himself, or any of his especial followers, and therefore did immediately retire himself with his force into the main; the other was concerning the rest of the said province who accepted of it; and in like sort the Mandoages received the impress.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10th of June; all which the premises were discovered by Skyco, the king Menatonon's son my prisoner, who, having once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bilboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapan's request; whereupon he being persuaded that he was our enemy to the death, he did not only feed

him with himself, but also made him acquainted with all his practices. On the other side, the young man finding himself as well used at my hand, as I had means to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered all unto me, which also afterward was revealed unto me by one of Pemisapan's own men, that night before he was slain.

These mischiefs being all instantly upon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood me in hand to study how to prevent them, and also to save all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so far from me; whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspicion out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrival of our fleet, (though I in truth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some four days provision to serve for my voyage.

He sent me word, that he would himself come over to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred only to bring the Weopomeioks with him and the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight days after. It was the last of May, 1586, when all his own savages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandment sent abroad unto them, and I resolved not to stay longer upon his coming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day; but that night I meant by the way to give them in the island a canuisado, and at the instant to seize upon all the canoes about the island to keep him from advertisements.

But the town took the alarm before I meant it to them; the occasion was this. I had sent the master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather up all the canoes in the setting of the sun, and to take as many as were going from us to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence to land. He met with a canoe going from the shore, and overthrew the canoe, and cut off two savages heads; this was not done so secretly but he was discovered

from

from the shore; whereupon the cry arose, for in truth they, privy to their own villainous purposes against us, held as good espial upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The alarm given, they took themselves to their bows, and we to our arms; some three or four of them at the first were slain with our shot, the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horseman and one canoe taking twenty-five with the colonel of the Chesepians, and the sergeant major, I went to Desamonquepeio; and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his own savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complain unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlock. Hereupon the king did abide my coming to him, and finding myself amid seven or eight of his principal Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gave the watch-word agreed upon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediately those his chief men and himself had by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himself being shot through by the colonel with a pistol, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteo's friends, as others were busy that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not been touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot through the buttocks by my Irish boy with my petronal. In the end, an Irishman serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertook him; and following him in the woods, overtook him; and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king and my man by our own negligence to have been intercepted by the savages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapan's head in his hand.

This fell out the first of June, 1586, and the eighth of the same came advertisement to me from Captain Stafford, lying at my lord Admiral's Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty

twenty sails; but whether they were friends or foes he could not yet discern. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the said month he himself came unto me, having that night before, and that same day travelled by land twenty miles; and I must truly report of him, from the first to the last, he was the gentleman that never spared labour or peril either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the general, Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountiful and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were entered into; and that not only of victuals, ammunition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnaces, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harbour; and coming there to an anchor, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to perform that which in writing and message he had most courteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks unto him and his captains for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and myself, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands, that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weak and unfit men for my good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with ore-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave us so much shipping and victual, as about August then next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lack of needful provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it would please him withal to leave some sufficient masters not only to carry us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harbour, if there were any, and especially to help us to some small boats and ore-men.

Also

Also for a supply of calivers, hand-weapons, match and lead, tools, apparel, and such like.

He having received these my requests, according to his usual commendable manner of government (as it was told me) calling his captains to counsel; the resolution was, that I should send such of my officers of my company as I used in such matters, with their notes, to go aboard with him; which were the master of the victuals, the keeper of the store, and the vice-treasurer; to whom he appointed forthwith for me the Francis, being a very proper bark of seventy tons, and took present order for bringing of victual aboard her for 100 men for four months, with all my other demands whatsoever to the uttermost.

And farther, he appointed for me two pinnaces, and four small boats; and that which was to perform all his former liberality toward us, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient-experimented masters as were any in his fleet, by judgment of them that knew them, with very sufficient gangs to tarry with me, and to employ themselves most earnesly in the action, as I should appoint them, until the term which I promised of our return into England again. The names of one of those masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my said masters being also gone aboard, my said barks having accepted of their charge, and my own officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the said general the 12th of the said month) the 13th of the same there arose such an unwonted storm, and continued four days, that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them, and the general very providently foreseen the worst himself, then about my dispatch putting himself aboard; but in the end having driven sundry of the fleet to put to sea, the Francis also with all my provisions, my two masters, and my company aboard, she was seen to be free from the same, and to put clear to sea.

This

This storm having continued from the 13th to the 16th of the month, and thus my bark put away as aforesaid, the general coming ashore made a new proffer unto me; which was a ship of 170 tons, called the Bark Bonner, with a sufficient master and guide to tarry with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to carry me and my company into England, with all provisions as before; but he told me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto myself, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to do for us; which being within his power, he did assure me as well for his captains as for himself, should be most willingly performed.

Hereupon calling such captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as myself to the general's offer, their whole request was to me; that considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed bark, with those two especial masters, with our principal provisions in the same, by the very hand of God, as it seemed stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour; seeing, farthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year; considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America; that therefore I would resolve myself with my company to go into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the general in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. Which request of ours by myself delivered unto him, he most readily assented unto; and so he sending immediately his pinnaces unto our island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnaces so often on ground, that

that the most of all we had, with all our cards, books, and writings, were by the sailors cast overboard, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the general in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors, (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the relief of whom he had in that storm sustained more peril of wreck than in all his former most honourable actions against the Spaniards, with praises unto God for all, set sail the 19th of June, 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the 27th of July the same year[29]."

The Third Voyage made by a Ship sent in the Year 1586 *to the Relief of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole Charges of* Sir WALTER RALEGH.

3d Voyage to Virginia.

"In the year of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Ralegh, at his own charge, prepared a ship of an hundred tons, freighted with all manner of things in most plentiful manner, for the supply and relief of his colony then remaining in Virginia; but before they set sail from England it was after Easter, so that our colony half despaired of the coming of any supply; wherefore every man prepared for himself, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life-time in that country. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their relief in so plentiful a manner as might have sufficed them two years without any farther labour. Thus trusting to their own harvest, they passed the summer till the tenth of June; at which time their corn which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping; but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous return from the sacking of St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countrymen the English colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he

[29] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III. 255.

fell with the parts where our English colony inhabited; and having espied some of that company, there he anchored and went a-land, where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had passed with them. They answered him, that they lived all, but hitherto in some scarcity; and as yet could hear of no supply out of England, therefore they requested him that he would leave with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then return themselves: which he agreed to. While some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their travels each to other, some on land, some on board, a great storm arose, and drove the most of their fleet from their anchors to sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English colony; the rest on land perceiving this, hasted to those three sails which were appointed to be left there; and for fear they should be left behind they left all things confusedly, as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army; and no doubt so they were, for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that country.

Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship above-mentioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh and his direction, arrived at Hatorask, which after some time spent in seeking our colony up in the country, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesaid provision into England.

About fourteen or fifteen days after the departure of the aforesaid ship, Sir Richard Greenvile, general of Virginia, accompanied with three ships well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there, who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of our English colony there seated, and left by him Anno 1585, himself travelling up into divers places of the country, as well to see if he could hear any news of the colony left there by him the year before, under the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discover some places of the country; but after some time

spent

spent therein, not hearing any news of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held; after good deliberation he determined to leave some men behind to retain possession of the country; whereupon he landed fifteen men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all manner of provision for two years, and so departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Azores, on some of which islands he landed, and spoiled the towns of all such things as were worth carriage, where also he took divers Spaniards. With these, and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, as well outward as homeward, be returned into England[30]."

America, though the most defenceless part of the king of Spain's dominions, was at this time regarded as the principal source of his power; and Elizabeth, finding that, on account of her late league with the States, an open breach with Philip was unavoidable, had resolved not to leave him unmolested in that quarter. A fleet of twenty sail under Admiral Sir Francis Drake was accordingly equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies. Having made themselves masters of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, St. Anthony, and St. Helens, in succession, they sailed along the coast of Virginia, and found Ralegh's colony in June, 1586, in the condition already described. They arrived at Plymouth with Lane and his followers on the 27th of July, when they brought into England for the first time the Nicotiana or tobacco[31], a plant on the virtues of which I need not enlarge, or observe, that it is subsequently become

1586.

Introduction of Tobacco.

[30] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III, 265.

[31] Camden's words are:—*Et hi reduces Indicam illam plantam quam Tabaccam vocant et Nicotiam, qua contra cruditates, ab Indis edocti, usi erant, in Angliam primi, quod sciam, intulerunt. Ex illo sane tempore usu cœpit esse creberrimo, et magno pretio, dum quamplurimi grave-olentem illius fumum, alii lascivientes, alii valetudini consulentes, per tubulum testaceum inexplebili aviditate passim hauriunt et mox e naribus efflant; adeo ut tabernæ Tabacanæ non minus quam cervisiariæ et vinariæ passim per oppida habeantur. Ut Anglorum corpora, (quod salse ille dixit) qui hac planta tantopere delectantur, in Barbarorum naturam degenerasse videantur; quum iisdem quibus Barbari delectentur, et sanari se posse credant.* Ann. Elizab. 1585.

no less productive of wealth to this country itself, than of general utility and gratification to its inhabitants [32]. It had been long in use among the Americans, and was called *yoli* on the islands, and *pœtun* on the continent. The Spaniards, the first importers of it into Europe, discovered it about the year 1560, and sent it into Spain from Tabaco a province of Yucatan, whence it derives its common name. We have seen how far Ralegh was instrumental in introducing it into England. He was fond of smoaking it himself [33], and probably contributed materially in propagating the novelty among his countrymen. We are told, that when first he grew fond of a pipe, his servant one day brought his tankard of ale and nutmeg into his study, where Ralegh was reading and smoaking. Seeing the smoke reek from his mouth, the man threw down the ale in a fright, and ran down-stairs to alarm the family, crying, *his master was on fire, and would be burned to ashes if they did not make haste to his assistance* [34].

It is also related, that Queen Elizabeth one day conversing with Ralegh on the virtues and properties of the new plant, he happened to observe, that he was so well acquainted with it, that he knew the exact weight of the smoke which would be produced by any given quantity. Her Majesty dwelling on the idea of bounding the smoke in a balance, suspected that he was playing the traveller, and laid him a wager he could not make good his words. Ralegh

[32] The reader will, I hope, pardon my here repeating the following lines:

"Blest leaf! whose aromatic gales dispense
To templars modesty, to parsons sense,
So raptur'd priests, at fam'd Dodona's shrine,
Drank inspiration from the steam divine.
Poison that cures, a vapour that affords
Content, more solid than the smile of lords.
Rest to the weary, to the hungry food,
The last kind refuge of the wise and good.
Inspir'd by thee, dull cits adjust the scale
Of Europe's peace, when other statesmen fail.
By thee protected, and thy sister, beer,
Poets rejoice, nor think the bailif near.
Nor less the critic owns thy genial aid,
While supperless he plies the piddling trade.
What tho' to love, and soft delights a foe,
By ladies hated, hated by the beau;
Yet social freedom, long to courts unknown,
Fair health, fair truth, and virtue are thy own.
Come to thy poet, come with healing wings,
And let me taste thee unexcis'd by kings."

[33] Among Thoresby's artificial curiosities we have *Sir Walter Ralegh's tobacco-box, as it is called, but is rather the case for the glass wherein it was preserved, which was surrounded with small wax candles of various colours. This is of gilded leather, like a muff-case, about half a foot broad, and thirteen inches high, and hath cases for sixteen pipes within it.* Ducatus Leodiensis, fol. 1715, p. 485.

[34] My only authority for the truth of this story is the British Apollo, 12mo, 1740, II. 376.

weighed

weighed the tobacco, smoked it, and then weighed the ashes. The Queen did not deny, that the difference had evaporated in smoke; and added, *many labourers in the fire turn gold into smoke, you have turned smoke into gold*[35]. Sir Walter was now very high in Her Majesty's favour, and about this time was appointed by her Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord-warden of the Stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall[36].

Seneschal of Cornwall and Exeter, and Warden of the Stannaries.

The Earl of Leicester, notwithstanding the great defects, or rather odious vices of his character, had at this period of Ralegh's life been for above twenty years in the good graces of Queen Elizabeth, and was now her greatest and most powerful favourite. In 1585 he had been sent to Holland at the head of the auxiliary forces, with which Her Majesty supplied the States in consequence of the league we have already noticed, and he carried in his splendid retinue the young Earl of Essex, now become his son-in-law by a second marriage. The States, desirous of engaging the Queen still farther in their defence; and knowing Leicester's interest with Her Majesty, conferred on him the title of Governor and Captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend his person, and treated him in some respects as their sovereign. Elizabeth, on the contrary, was displeased with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leicester; she severely reprimanded both, and was not appeased without many humble submissions. Moreover the advantages which the Prince of Parma gained, were not attributed to the superior bravery and discipline of the Spaniards, but solely to the misconduct of Leicester. The States were greatly discontented with his management of the war, and with his arbitrary and imperious conduct. He was afterward suspected by the Dutch of a design of usurping upon their liberties, and the jealousy entertained against him began to extend toward the Queen herself, which led to his recal in 1587[37].

Leicester in Holland.

The following letter, addressed to him by Ralegh during this ser-

[35] See an allusion to this anecdote in Howell's Letters, Book III. Letter 7.

[36] See Appendix, No. I. the superscription and date.

[37] See Camden in Elizab.; Bentivoglio, Part II. lib. 4; Strype, Vol. IV. No. 246; Rymer, Tom XV. p. 66.

vice

vice, has been preserved in the Harleian Collection [38], and is, I believe, now printed for the first time:

Letter to him from Ralegh.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"You wrote unto me in your last letters for pioneers to be sent over; whereupon I moved Her Majesty, and found her very willing, insomuch as order was given for a commission; but since, the matter is stayed, I know not for what cause. Also, according to Your Lordship's desire, I spoke for one Jukes for the office of the Back-house, and the matter well liked. In ought else Your Lordship shall find me most assured to my power to perform all offices of love, honour, and service toward you. But I have been of late very pestilent reported in this place to be rather a drawer-back, than a fartherer of the Action where you govern. Your Lordship doth well understand my affection toward Spain, and how I have consumed the best part of my fortune, hurting the tyrrannous prosperity of that estate; and it were now strange and monstrous that I should become an enemy to my country and conscience. But all that I have desired at Your Lordship's hands is, that you will evermore deal directly with me in all matter of suspect doubleness, and so ever esteem me as you shall find my deserving, good or bad. In the mean time I humbly beseech you, let no poetical scribe work Your Lordship by any device to doubt, that I am a hollow or cold servant to the Action, or a mean well-willer and follower of your own. And even so I humbly take my leave, wishing you all honour and prosperity. From the Court, the 29th of March, 1586.

Your Lordship's, to do you service,
W. RALEGH."

The Queen is on very good terms with you, and, thank be to God, well pacified, and you are again her sweet Robin.

To the Right Honourable, my singular good Lord, the Earl of Leicester, Governor of the Low Countries for Her Majesty."

[38] No. 6994, ii.

It

It is difficult to trace the intrigues of court-favourites to their true causes; yet while Leicester's reputation was as we have seen suffering abroad, it may not be totally unreasonable to suppose, that reflecting on Ralegh's acknowledged talents, and his influence at court; and combining these advantages with the reports which Ralegh alludes to in his letter, he might be led to view the rising favourite with a jealous eye; and that these circumstances might determine him, as has been conjectured, in opposing the dawning talents of his son-in-law, afterward so celebrated, and so unfortunate, to Sir Walter's growing influence with the queen [39]. Leicester's jealousy.

In the voyage undertaken this year (1586) by the Earl of Cumberland, and intended for the South Sea, Ralegh was a sharer. His fine pinnace, the Dorothy joined the fleet at Plymouth in August; and though the voyage was performed no farther than the latitude 44°, some small prizes were taken in the course of it [40]. He also fitted out this year two pinnaces for the Azores, which proved an adventure of such benefit and consequence, that it may not be improper to present the reader with the following concise narrative of it, written by Mr. John Evesham: Voyages to South Sea and Azores.

[39] See Sir Henry Wotton's *parallel* between Essex and Buckingham in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

Tarleton, the best comedian of these times, when a pleasant play was acting before Her Majesty, pointed at Sir Walter Ralegh, and said, *see, the knave commands the queen*, for which she corrected him with a frown, yet he had the confidence to add, *that he was of too much and too intolerable a power*. Going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the over great power and riches of the Earl of Leicester, which was so universally applauded by all who were present, that the queen thought fit at that time to bear these reflections with a seeming unconcernedness; yet was so offended that she forbad Tarleton and all her jesters from coming near her table. Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth, 8vo, 1693, p. 353.

[40] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III. 769.

A Voy-

A Voyage to the Azores with two Pinnaces, the one called the Serpent, and the other the Mary Spark of Plymouth, both of them belonging to Sir WALTER RALEGH, *written by* JOHN EVESHAM, *Gentleman, wherein were taken the Governor of the Isle of St. Michael, and* PEDRO SARMIENTO, *Governor of the Straits of Magalanes, in the Year* 1586.

"The 10th of June, 1586, we departed from Plymouth with two pinnaces, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of thirty-five tons, and the other the Mary Spark of Plymouth, of the burthen of fifty tons, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Ralegh, Kt.; and directing our course toward the coast of Spain, and from thence toward the isles of the Azores, we took a small bark laden with sumack and other commodities, wherein was the governor of St. Michael's island, being a Portuguese, having other Portuguese and Spaniards with him. And from thence we sailed to the island of Graciosa, to the westward of the island of Tercera, where we descried a sail, and bearing with her we found her to be a Spaniard; but at the first not greatly respecting whom we took, so that we might have enriched ourselves, which was the cause of this our travail, and for that we would not be known of what nation we were, we displayed a white silk ensign in our main-top, which, they seeing, made account that we had been some of the king of Spain's armadas, lying in wait for English men-of-war; but when we came within shot of her, we took down our white flag, and spread abroad the cross of St. George, which when they saw, it made them to fly as fast as they might; but all their haste was in vain, for our ships were swifter of sail than they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordnance and small shot, with many letters, and the draft of the Straits of Magelan, into the sea, and thereupon immediately we took her, wherein we also took a gentleman of Spain, named Pedro Sarmiento, governor of the Straits of Magelan, which said Pedro we brought into England with us, and presented him to our sovereign lady the queen.

After

After this, lying off and about the islands, we descried another sail, and bearing after her, we spent the main-mast of our admiral, but yet in the night our vice-admiral took her, being laden with fish from Cape Blanke, the which ship we let go again for want of men to bring her home. The next day we descried two other sails, the one a ship, and the other a caravel, to whom we gave chase, which they seeing, with all speed made in under the Isle of Graciosa, to a certain fort there for their succour, where they came to an anchor, and having the wind of us we could not hurt them with our ships, but we having a small boat, which we called a light-horseman, wherein myself was, being a musqueteer, and four more with calivers, and four that rowed, came near unto the shore against the wind; which when they saw us come toward them they carried a great part of their merchandise on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed, and as soon as we came within musquet-shot, they began to shoot at us with great ordnance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the end we boarded one ship wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoisted her sails, and sent her away with two of our men, and the other seven of us passed more near unto the shore, and boarded the caravel, which did ride within a stone's cast from the shore, and so near the land that the people did cast stones at us, but yet in despite of them all we took her, and one only negro therein; and cutting her cables in the hawse we hoisted her sails, and being becalmed under the land, we were constrained to row her out with our boat, the fort still shooting at us, and the people on land with musquets and calivers, to the number of 150, or thereabout; and we answered them with the small force we had. In the time of which our shooting, the shot of my musquet being a cross-bar-shot, happened to strike the gunner of the fort to death, even as he was giving level to one of his great pieces; and thus we parted from them without any loss or hurt on our side. And now, having taken these five sail of ships, we did as before, turn away the ship with the fish, without hurting them, and from one of the other ships we took her main-mast to serve our admi-

ral's turn, and so sent her away, putting into her all the Spaniards and Portuguese, (saving that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men, and two negroes) leaving them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for ten days, if need were.

Thus setting our course for England, being off the islands in the height of 41°, or thereabout, one of our men being in the top, descried a sail, then ten sail, then fifteen, whereupon it was concluded to send home those prizes we had, and so left in both our pinnaces not above 60 men. Thus we returned again to the fleet we had descried, where we found 24 sail of ships, whereof two of them were caracks, the one of 1200, and the other of a 1000 tons, and 10 galeons, the rest were small ships and caravels, all laden with treasure, spices, and sugars, with which 24 ships we, with two small pinnaces, did fight, and kept company the space of 32 hours, continually fighting with them, and they with us, but the two caracks kept still betwixt the fleet and us, that we could not take any one of them; so, wanting powder, we were forced to give them over against our wills, for that we were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessity compelling us, and that only for want of powder, without loss of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at, considering the inequality of number) at length we gave them over. Thus we again set our course for England, and so came to Plymouth within six hours after our prizes, which we sent away 40 hours before us; where we were received with triumphant joy, not only with great ordnance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the town, and of the country thereabout; and we not sparing our ordnance (with the powder we had left) to requite and answer them again. And from thence we brought our prizes to Southampton, where Sir Walter Ralegh, being our owner, rewarded us with our shares.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, elephant's teeth, wax, hides, rice, brasil, and cuser, as by the testimony of John Evesham himself, Captain Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Benjamin Wood, William Cooper,

Cooper, master; William Cornish, master; Thomas Drake, corporal; John Ladd, gunner; William Warefield, gunner; Richard Moone, John Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, John Row of Saltash, and many others may appear [41]."

About this time Ralegh received the additional honour of being appointed Captain of the Guard to Her Majesty, and Lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall [42]. In the session of parliament which was dissolved March 23d, 1587, he was a member of the committee for conferring on *the amendment of some things whereunto ministers are required to be sworn, and that some good course might be taken to have a learned ministry*, the queen having, in her speech at the close of the last session, remarked on some faults and negligences of the bishops; *which*, she added, *if you my lords of the clergy do not amend, I mean to depose you* [43]. By some notes of this reign left by the Lord-treasurer Burleigh, we find that in the year 1587 Sir Walter also received a grant of the lands of Anthony Babington [44], the hero of the conspiracy in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, which goes by his name.

Captain of the Guard and Lieut.-general of Cornwall.

1587.

He was now likewise preparing to replace his first and unsuccessful colony in Virginia, by sending out a new one to consist of one hundred and fifty men. Although the returns he had received from Virginia, the Spanish prizes he had taken, and the frugality of the royal favour, had by no means repaid his large expenditure on this plantation, his enterprising genius did not hesitate in persevering in its purpose [45]. The cotemporary naval historian gives us the following account of this fourth voyage.

[41] See Hakluyt's Voyages, II. Part II. p. 120.

[42] See Appendix, No. II. the superscription and date.

[43] See D'Ewes' Journal, p. 328, 413.

[44] See Murdin's State Papers, folio, 1759, p. 785.

[45] See Appendix, No. II.

Fourth Voyage to Virginia.

The Fourth Voyage made to Virginia with three Ships in the Year 1587, wherein was transported the second Colony.

" In the year of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Ralegh intending to persevere in the planting of his country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of 150 men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed governor, and also appointed unto him twelve assistants, unto whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governor and Assistants of the City of Ralegh in Virginia.

April.—Our fleet being in number three sail; viz. the admiral, a ship of 120 tons, a fly-boat, and a pinnace, departed the 26th of April from Portsmouth, and the same day came to an anchor at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where we stayed eight days.

May 5th, at nine of the clock at night we came to Plymouth, where we remained the space of two days.

May 8th, we weighed anchor at Plymouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

May 16th, Simon Ferdinando, master of our admiral, lewdly forsook our fly-boat, leaving her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

June 19th, we fell with Dominica, and the same evening we sailed between it and Guadaloupe; the 21st the fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

June 22d, we came to an anchor at an island called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25th of the same month. At our first landing on this island, some of our women and men, by eating a small fruit like green apples, were fearfully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouths, and swelling of their tongues so big, that some of them could not speak. Also a child by sucking one of those women's breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time; but after 24 hours, it wore away of itself.

Also

Also the first night of our being on this island, we took five great tortoises, some of them of such bigness, that sixteen of our strongest men were tired with carrying one of them but from the sea-side to our cabbins. In this island we found no watering-place, but a standing pond, the water whereof was so evil, that many of our company fell sick with drinking thereof; and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the sun had drawn away the corruption, their faces did so burn and swell, that their eyes were shut up, and could not see in five or six days, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Governor also, with six others, went up to the top of an high hill to view the island, but could perceive no sign of any men or beasts, nor any goodness, but parrots and trees of guiacum. Returning back to our cabbins another way, he found in the descent of a hill certain potsherds of savage making, made of the earth of that island; whereupon it was judged, that this island was inhabited with savages, though Ferdinando had told us for certain the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Governor. The one company affirmed, that they had seen in a valley eleven savages, and divers houses half a mile distant from the steep or top of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rock a very fair spring of water, whereof they brought three bottles to the company; for before that time we drank the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night Captain Stafford, with the pinnace, departed from our fleet, riding at Santa Cruz, to an island called Beake, lying near St. John, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheep. The next day at night our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboard, and the next morning after, being the 25th of June, we weighed anchor, and departed from Santa Cruz.

June 27th, we came to anchor at Cottea, where we found the pinnace riding at our coming.

June 28th, we weighed anchor at Cottea, and presently came to anchor at St. John's in Musketoe's Bay, where we spent three days unprofitably in taking in fresh water, spending in the mean time more beer than the quantity of the water came unto.

July 1st, we weighed anchor at Musketoe's Bay, where were left behind two Irishmen of our company, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the Coast of St. John's till evening, at which time we fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised we should take in salt, and had caused us before to make and provide as many sacks for that purpose as we could. The Governor also, for that he understood there was a town in the bottom of the bay, not far from the salt hills, appointed thirty shot, ten pikes, and ten targets, to man the pinnace, and to go a-land for salt. Ferdinando, perceiving them in readiness, sent to the Governor, using great persuasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that he knew not well whether the same were the place or not; also, that if the pinnace went into the bay, she could not without great danger come back till the next day at night; and that if in the mean time any storm should arise, the admiral were in danger to be cast away. While he was thus persuading, he caused the lead to be cast, and having craftily brought the ship in three fathom and a half water, he suddenly began to swear and tear God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helm, bear up hard! bear up hard! so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt by his means.

The next day, sailing along the west end of St. John, the Governor determined to go a-land in St. German's Bay to gather young plants of oranges, pines, mameas, and plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow near the shore, and the places where they grew well known to the Governor, and some of the planters; but our Simon denied it, saying, he would come to an anchor at Hispaniola, and there land the Gover-

nor

nor, and some other of the assistants, with the pinnace, to see if he could speak with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattle, and all such things as we would have taken in at St. John; but he meant nothing less, as it plainly did appear to us afterward.

The next day after, being the 3d of July, we saw Hispaniola, and bear with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnace should be prepared to go for the place where Ferdinando's friend Alanson was; but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

July 4th, sailing along the coast of Hispaniola until the next day at noon, and no preparation yet seen for the staying there, we having knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella; hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Governor, whether he meant to speak with Alanson for the taking in of cattle, and other things, according to his promise or not; but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French ambassador certified him, that the king of Spain had sent for Alanson into Spain; wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and hauled off for Virginia, about four of the clock in the afternoon.

July 6th, we came to the island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando said were two salt ponds, assuring us if they were dry we might find salt to shift with, until the next supply; but it proved as true as finding of sheep at Beake. In this island, while Ferdinando solaced himself ashore, with one of the company, in part of the island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the island, some to seek the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting swans, whereof we caught many. The next day, early in the morning, we weighed anchor, leaving Caycos with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16th of July we fell with the main of Virginia, which

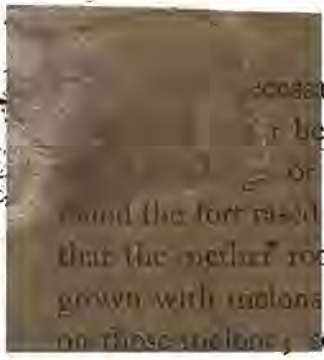
Simon

Simon Ferdinando took to be the island of Croatoan, [illegible] came to anchor, and rode there two or three days; but finding himself deceived, he weighed, and bore along the coast, where, in the night, had not Captain Stafford been more careful in looking out than our Simon Ferdinando, we had been all cast away upon the breach, called the Cape of Fear, for we were come within two cables length upon it: such was the carelessness and ignorance of our master.

July 22d, we arrived safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnace anchored; the Governor went aboard the pinnace, accompanied with forty of his best men, intending to pass up to Roanoak forthwith, hoping there to find those fifteen Englishmen, whom Sir Richard Greenvile had left there the year before, with whom he meant to have conference concerning the state of the country and savages, meaning, after he had so done, to return again to the fleet, and pass along the coast to the Bay of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seat and fort, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hand of Sir Walter Ralegh. But as soon as we were put with our pinnace from the ship, a gentleman by the means of Ferdinando, who was appointed to return for England, called to the sailors in the pinnace, charging them not to bring any of the planters back again, but to leave them in the island, except the Governor and two or three such as he approved, saying that the summer was far spent, wherefore he would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the sailors, both in the pinnace and ship, persuaded by the master, wherefore it booted not the Governor to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sun-set went a-land on the island, in the place where our fifteen men were left, but we found none of them, nor any sign that they had been there, saving only we found the bones of one of those fifteen, which the savages had slain long before.

July 23d, the Governor, with divers of his company, walked to the north end of the island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his fort,

with



ry and decent dwelling-houses, made by his men
fore, where we hoped to find some signs, or cer-
our fifteen men. When we came thither we
down, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving
ms of them, and also of the fort, were over-
of divers sorts, and deer within them, feeding
o we returned to our company, without hope of
ever seeing any of the fifteen men living.

The same day order was given that every man should be employed for the repairing of those houses which we found standing, and also to make other new cottages, for such as should need.

July 25th, our fly-boat, and the rest of our planters, arrived all safe at Hatorask, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company; but the master of our admiral, Ferdinando, grieved greatly at their safe coming; for he purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he never had been in Virginia, would hardly find the place, or else being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by means of so many men of war, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken or slain; but God disappointed his wicked pretences.

July 28th, George Howe, one of our twelve assistants was slain by divers savages, which were come over to Roanoak, either on purpose to espy our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt deer, whereof were many in the island. These savages being secretly hidden among high reeds, where oftentimes they find the deer asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a small forked stick, catching crabs there withal, and also being strayed two miles from his company; and shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrows; and after they had slain him with their wooden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the main.

July 30th, Master Stafford, and twenty of our men, passed by

water to the Island of Croatoan with Manteo, who had his mother and many of his kindred dwelling in that island, of whom we hoped to understand some news of our fifteen men, but especially to learn the disposition of the people of the country toward us, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with us; but perceiving us begin to march with our shot toward them, they turned their backs and fled. Then Manteo their countryman called to them in their own language, whom, as soon as they heard they returned, and threw away their bows and arrows, and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather or spill any of their corn, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corn nor any other thing of theirs should be diminished by any of us, and that our coming was only to renew the old love that was between us and them at the first, and to live with them as brethren and friends: which answer seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested us to walk up to their town, who there feasted us after their manner, and desired us earnestly, that there might be some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the town or island. They told us farther, that for want of some such badge, divers of them were hurt the year before, being found out of the island by Master Lane's company, whereof they shewed us one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lain of that hurt ever since; but they said, they knew our men mistook them, and hurt them instead of Wingino's men, wherefore they held us excused.

August 1st, we had conference farther with them concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certify the people of those towns, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receive them again, and that all unfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be utterly forgiven and forgotten. To this the chief men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly do the best they could, and within seven days bring the

Wiroances

chief governors of those towns with them to our ...k, or their answer. We also understood of the ...hat our man, Master Howe, was slain by the ... or Wingino's men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept company; and also we understood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the year before by Sir Richard Greenvile, were suddenly set upon by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk, in manner following.

They conveyed themselves secretly behind the trees, near the houses where our men carelessly lived; and having perceived that of those fifteen they could see but eleven only, two of those savages appeared to the eleven Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signs, that but two of their chiefest men should come unarmed to speak with those two savages, who seemed also to be unarmed. Wherefore, two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them; but while one of those savages traiterously embraced one of our men, the other with his sword of wood, which he had secretly hidden under his mantle, struck him on the head, and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty savages shewed themselves. The other Englishman perceiving this, fled to his company, whom the savages pursued with their bows and arrows, so fast that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victual and weapons were; but the savages forthwith set the same on fire, by means whereof our men were forced to take up such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to run forth among the savages, with whom they skirmished above an hour. In this skirmish another of our men was shot into the mouth with an arrow, where he died; and also one of the savages was shot into the side by one of our men with a wild-fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the savages, by means of the thick trees, behind which the savages, through their nimbleness, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrows, that our men being some of them hurt, retired fighting to the water-side, where their boat lay, with which

they fled toward Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their four fellows coming from a creek thereby, where they had been to fetch oysters; these four they received into their boat, leaving Roanoak, and landed on a little island on the right-hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remained awhile, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having now sufficiently dispatched our business at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboard the fleet at Hatorask.

August 8th, the governor having long expected the coming of the Wiroances of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seven days were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answers by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina's men, which were left alive, who dwelt at Dasamonguepeuk, were they which had slain George Howe, and were also at the driving of our eleven Englishmen from Roanoak, he thought to defer the revenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight he passed over the water, accompanied with Captain Stafford and 24 men, whereof Manteo was one, whom we took with us to be our guide to the place where those savages dwelt, where he behaved himself toward us as a most faithful Englishman.

The next day, being the 9th of August, in the morning so early that it was yet dark, we landed near the dwelling-place of our enemies, and very secretly conveyed ourselves through the woods, to that side where we had their houses between us and the water; and having espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them; the miserable souls herewith amazed, fled into a place of thick reeds, growing fast by, where our men perceiving them, shot one of them through the body with a bullet, and therewith we entered the reeds, among which we hoped to acquit their evil doing toward us, but we were deceived, for those savages were our

friends,

friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corn and fruit of that place, because they understood our enemies were fled immediately after they had slain George Howe, and for haste had left all their corn, tobacco, and pompions, standing in such sort, that all had been devoured of the birds and deer, if it had not been gathered in time; but they had like to have paid dearly for it; for it was so dark, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, we knew not but they were all men; and if that one of them which was a Wiroance's wife had not had a child at her back, she had been slain instead of a man, and as hap was, another savage knew Master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby he was saved. Finding ourselves thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered all the corn, peas, pompions, and tobacco, that we found ripe, leaving the rest unspoiled, and took Menatoan's wife, with the young child, and the other savages with us, over the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these savages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harm to their own folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in coming to the governor at the day appointed, they had not known that mischance.

August 13th, our savage Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithful service.

August 18th, Elenor, daughter to the governor, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sunday following; and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia. By this time our ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood and fresh water, and to new calk and trim them for England; the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send back into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the fly-boat, almost ready to depart the 21st of August, there arose such a tempest at north-east, that our Admiral, then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his

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his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on six days before he could come to us again, so that we feared he had been cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storm took them, the most and best of their sailors were left a-land.

At this time some controversies arose between the governor and assistants, about chusing two out of the twelve assistants, which should go back as factors for the company into England; for every one of them refused, save only one, which all other thought not sufficient; but at length by much persuading of the governor, Christopher Cooper only agreed to go for England; but the next day, through the persuasion of divers of his familiar friends, he changed his mind, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22d of August, the whole company both of the assistants and planters came to the governor, and with one voice requested him to return himself into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them; but he refused it, and alledged many sufficient causes why he would not. The one was, that he could not so suddenly return back again without his great discredit, leaving the action, and so many whom he partly had procured through his persuasions to leave their native country, and undertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action, at his return into England, would not spare to slander falsely both him and the action, by saying, he went to Virginia but politicly, and to no other end but to lead so many into a country in which he never meant to stay himself, and there to leave them behind him. Also he alledged, that seeing they intended to remove 50 miles farther up into the main presently, he being then absent, his stuff and goods might be both spoiled, and most of them pilfered away in the carriage; so that at his return he should be either forced to provide himself of all such things again, or else at his coming again to Virginia find himself utterly unfurnished, whereof already he had found some proof, being but once from them but three days. Wherefore he concluded that he would not go himself.

The next day, not only the assistants but divers others, as well

women

women as men, began to renew their requests to the governor again, to take upon him to return into England for the supply and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond under all their hands and seals for the safe preserving of all his goods for him at his return to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoiled or lost they would see it restored to him, or his assignees, whensoever the same should be missed and demanded; which bond, with a testimony under their hands and seals, they forthwith made and delivered into his hands. The copy of the testimony I thought good to set down.

"May it please you, Her Majesty's subjects of England, we your friends and countrymen, the planters in Virginia, do by these presents let you and every of you to understand, that for the present and speedy supply of certain our known and apparent lacks and needs, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of us, or any other in this land of Virginia, we all of one mind and consent, have most earnestly entreated, and incessantly requested John White, Governor of the planters in Virginia, to pass into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the foresaid supplies; and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and will labour and take pains in that behalf for us all; and he not once but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour and maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacy, yielded to leave his government and all his goods among us, and himself in all our behalves to pass into England, of whose knowledge and fidelity in handling this matter, as all others, we do assure ourselves by these presents, and will you to give all credit thereunto. The 25th of August, 1587."

The Governor being at the last through their extreme entreating constrained to return into England, having then but half a day's respite to prepare himself for the same, departed from Roanoak the 27th of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight came aboard the fly-boat, which already had weighed anchor, and rode without the bar, the admiral riding by them, who but the same

same morning was newly come thither again. The same day both the ships weighed anchor, and set sail for England; at this weighing their anchors, twelve of the men which were in the fly-boat were thrown from the capstan, which by means of a bar that broke, came so fast about upon them, that the other two bars thereof struck and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them never recovered it; nevertheless they assayed presently again to weigh their anchor, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weigh it, but were thrown down and hurt the second time. Wherefore, having in all but fifteen men aboard, and most of them by this unfortunate beginning so bruised and hurt, they were forced to cut their cable, and lose their anchor. Nevertheless, they kept company with the admiral until the 17th of September, at which time we fell with Coruo, and saw Flores.

September 18th, perceiving of all our fifteen men in the fly-boat there remained but five, which, by means of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour; and that the admiral meant not to make any haste for England, but to linger about the island of Tercera for purchase; the fly-boat departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arrive shortly. But by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty days, having had sometimes scarce and variable winds, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storm at north-east, which for six days ceased not to blow so exceeding, that we were driven farther in those six than we could recover in thirteen days; in which time others of our sailors began to fall very sick, and two of them died. The weather also continued so close, that our master sometimes in four days together could see neither sun nor star, and all the beverage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beer, and lees of wine which remained, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at sea.

October 16th, we made land, but we knew not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day. About sun-set we put into a harbour, where we found a hulk of Dublin, and a pinnace of

Hampton

Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boat to go ashore, until the pinnace sent off their boat to us with six or eight men, of whom we understood we were in Smerwick in the west parts of Ireland; they also relieved us presently with fresh water, wine, and other fresh meat.

October 18th, the governor and the master rode to Dingen-a-Cushe, five miles distant, to take order for the new victualling of our fly-boat for England, and for relief of our sick and hurt men; but within four days after the boatswain, the steward, and the boatswain's mate, died aboard the fly-boat, and the 28th the master's mate and two of our chief sailors were brought sick to Dingen.

November 1st, the governor shipped himself in a ship called the Monkey, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leaving the fly-boat and all his company in Ireland. The same day we set sail, and on the third day we fell with the north side of the Land's End, and were shut up by the Severn, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

November 5th, the Governor landed in England at Martasew, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

November 8th, we arrived at Hampton, where we understood that our consort the admiral was come to Portsmouth, and had been there three weeks before; and also that Ferdinando the master, with all his company, were not only come home without any purchase, but also in such weakness by sickness and death of their chiefest men, that they were scarce able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anchor without, which they could not weigh again, but might all have perished there, if a small bark by great hap had not come to them to help them. The names of the chief men that died are these, Roger Large, John Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other sailors, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587[46]."

[46] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III. 280.

On the return of these ships to England our kingdom was busied in counteracting the designs of Philip with his celebrated Spanish armada, and a council of war was held November 27th, 1587, for putting the forces of the realm in the best posture of defence against the threatened invasion, in which, among other celebrated names, we find that of Ralegh[47]. In the mean time the return of Governor White, and the accounts he brought with him, made it necessary for Sir Walter to prepare the needful supplies for his colony, which were to have proceeded under the command of Greenvile; but the apprehensions from the Spanish armament were so great, that every armed ship became in request for the defence of the country, and Sir Richard received a personal injunction not to proceed to sea. Yet the endeavours of the proprietors for the success of the colony were so earnest and unceasing, that they procured two small pinnaces the Brave and the Roe, which sailed April 22d, 1588, with fifteen planters, and the necessary provisions for the colony. One of them was taken and stripped by two Rochelle armed vessels about fifty leagues north-east of Madeira, and both returned to England without accomplishing their purpose, to the distress of the colony, and the vexation of its proprietors[48]. Meanwhile the alarm of the Spanish armada had reached the coast of this island, and many of the nobility and gentry hastened out with vessels at their own charge from every harbour to reinforce our fleet. Ralegh is here named in company with the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, and many others, who distinguished themselves on this occasion by their generous and disinterested service of their country[49].

1588.

Joins the fleet against the armada.

Sir

[47] Strype's Opinion, (Annals of the Church, III. 452.) that Ralegh was at this time governor of Portland Castle, seems inconsistent with his lieutenancy in the west. As we live in an invading age, an account of the determinations of this council from a MS. seen by Oldys, and probably composed by Ralegh, may not be uninteresting to the reader.—See Appendix, No. IV. For Ralegh's thoughts on the necessity of a *fleet* to act against invaders, see his Hist. World. V. 1. 9.

[48] See Hakluyt's Voyages, 1st edition, folio, 1589, p. 771.

[49] Camden's words are—*Tantum autem abfuit ut* invincibili *nomine, aut terribili spectaculo oram maritimam terruerit, ut juventus Anglica incredibili quadam alacritate (parentibus, uxoribus, liberis, cognatis et amicis, ex intima in patriam*

Sir Walter at this time enjoyed among other distinctions the honour of being one of the gentlemen of Her Majesty's privy chamber [50]. He seems also to have received a considerable augmentation of his wine patent, consisting of the tonnage and poundage [51]. This lucrative grant he enjoyed as long as Queen Elizabeth lived, but toward the close of her reign the number of such grants was so greatly increased, that they were inveighed against in parliament as grievous and oppressive monopolies.

New honours and preferments.

Experience had now taught Ralegh the real and almost insurmountable difficulties, which he as a single proprietor had to encounter in the establishment of the Virginian colony; and, after having expended forty thousand pounds [52] upon it, he at last determined to assign-over to a company of gentlemen and merchants of London the right of continuing that plantation with English subjects, reserving to himself the fifth part of all gold and silver ore. The indenture, dated March 7, 1589, will be found in the Appendix [53]; and while the difficulties with which the company had to struggle for the twenty succeeding years prove the faultless conduct of the original proprietor, the subsequent success of Virginia must claim our highest applause of Ralegh's choice, and his early perseverance.

Assigns over his colony.

1589.

patriam charitate, derelictis) navigiis undique privatis impensis conductis, se classi magno numero adjunxerit; et inter alios, Comites Oxoniæ, Northumberlandiæ, Cumberlandiæ, Thomas et Robertus Cecilii, H. Brookus, Carolus Bluntus, Walterus Raleghus, &c.—Annal. Elizab. Ann. 1588. In a discourse written many years afterward, Sir Walter himself writes, *yea in eighty-eight when he* (the Spaniard) *made his great and fearful fleet, if the queen would have hearkened to reason we had burnt all his ships and preparations in his own ports, as we did afterward upon the same intelligence and doubt in Cadiz.* See Birch's Works of Ralegh, I. 274.

[50] See Oldys, p. 46.

[51] See Townshend's Historical Collections of Elizabeth's Four last Parliaments, folio, 1680, p. 244. Also among the Talbot-papers is one indorsed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, 25 *Maii*, 1603, *a note of monopolies*, wherein we find, 30° *Eliz. A patent to Sir Walter Ralegh to make licences for keeping of taverns, and retailing of wines throughout all England.* See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, &c. 4to, 1791, III. 161.

[52] See a Brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, a pamphlet by his son Carew, p. 10.

[53] No. V.

CHAP. III.

WE have now beheld Ralegh raising himself, principally by his individual merit, to a station of rank and distinction, and particularly distinguished by the favour of his sovereign, in a reign in which the royal munificence was confessedly apportioned with economy, though with discernment. We shall find, however, that a combination of more causes than one but too soon overcast the prospect which was opening upon him; and although the information transmitted to us upon this subject be unfortunately very incomplete, yet we have good grounds for concluding, that the jealousy of his rivals in power proved a very mischievous weapon against him.

Leicester, so long a powerful favourite in the court of Queen Elizabeth, died in 1588; and though this event removed him as an adversary to Ralegh, he had probably, as I have already remarked, prepared a legacy for Sir Walter in his son-in-law, which should not leave him unemployed at court. Robert Devereux (son of Walter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Viscount Hereford, and Earl of Essex, of a very ancient and noble family originally of Evereux in Normandy) was born in the year 1567, and succeeded to the title of Earl of Essex at ten years of age. He quitted the university at sixteen, and spent some time at his house at Lampsie in South Wales; where he grew so fond of a retired life, that he was with difficulty drawn from it by his father-in-law, Leicester, against whom he had imbibed a strong prejudice, which, however, time and the influence of his mother softened[1]. He served as general of the horse, and field-marshal, in 1585, when that Earl commanded the English forces in the Low-countries. Being a relation, the son of

Earl of Essex.

[1] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 3d edit. p. 162, 3.

one

one of her most faithful servants, the son-in-law of her favourite, and a handsome and accomplished youth, he was honoured with singular marks of the queen's favour. She appointed him master of the horse in 1587, and general of the horse upon the Spanish invasion in the following year, gracing him in the camp at Tilbury in the view of the soldiers and people, even beyond her former favourite Leicester, and honouring him with the order of the garter. Without the dark soul of his father-in-law, he had the zeal, untempered by the discretion, of Burleigh. Superior to Ralegh himself in generosity, though unequal to him in abilities, had he not been inflated by the queen's partiality, (which pretty clearly deserves the tenderer name of passion) he might have made one of the bravest generals, and most active statesmen, of his accomplished age. But he had a spirit, whose loftiness neglected the homage to his sovereign, which her character peculiarly required, and whose impetuosity disregarded the subtleties of so able a court; a principle in itself sufficient to accomplish his ruin at an untimely day[2].

We have no complete information transmitted to us, as I have already hinted, respecting the incipient causes or symptoms of jealousy between Ralegh and his rivals in power. His letter[3] to Leicester, however, in 1586, seems to lead to the conjecture, that that nobleman might not feel completely satisfied as to Ralegh's fidelity here to his cause during his absence abroad. This prejudice might naturally and quickly have been communicated to Essex. Heightened by the recent death of Leicester, it might gain strength in the mind of the young earl; and cherished by the real rivalry which Ralegh's station at court naturally subjected him to, it might finally lead to those effects which we shall find but too soon made their appearance in his conduct.

Expedition with Don Antonio.

In the mean time the discomfiture of the Spanish armada had begotten such an enthusiastic spirit of enterprise in this country, that the minds of the people were ripe for entering into the views of Don

[2] See Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.

[3] See p. 86. of this work.

Antonio,

Antonio, who was at this fortunate juncture advancing his claim here on the crown of Portugal; and they actually formed the design of conquering that kingdom for him. The queen furnished only six men-of-war, and sixty thousand pounds; but nearly twenty thousand[4] volunteers enlisted in the service, and ships were hired, and arms provided at the charge of the adventurers, among whom Ralegh was one in person. The command of the expedition was given to Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris; and had they sailed directly for Portugal they would probably have succeeded. But hearing that Spain was preparing a new armament at the Groin, they first went thither, burned several ships, defeated four or five thousand men, took and pillaged the lower town, and would have taken the higher town also, but for the failure of their ammunition and provision. Essex, engaged in the expedition with several ships at his own charge, and, without Her Majesty consent or knowledge, joined the adventurers here and proceeded with them to Portugal. This excursion being considered only as a sally of youth, he increased instead of forfeiting her good opinion by it[5]. Meanwhile the court of Spain had time to prepare for the invasion, and to frustrate its object. Having taken many prizes, and gained other advantages, though not without suffering numerous calamities, the adventurers sailed for Vigo, which they took and burned; and having ravaged the neighbouring country they returned to England. Above half of them perished by sickness, famine, or the sword, and of eleven hundred gentlemen who embarked, only three hundred and fifty teturned[6].

Squabble with Sir R. Williams.

Sir Roger Williams, the intimate friend of Essex, was a colonel in the land-service in this expedition. In one of his letters he wrote,

[4] Ralegh (Hist. World, V. 1. 9.) calls the army 11,000 strong.—Monson adds 4000 sailors—to this add 1,100 gentlemen, and it makes only 16,100 in all. Hume prefers the account given by Birch, who calls the number 21,000. Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, I. 58.

[5] *Whether such an intermission might heighten her affection, or that having committed a fault he became more obsequious to redeem it, or that she had not yet conceived any suspicions of his popularity.* Reliq. Wotton. p. 165.

[6] Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, I. 61.

it

it is well-known we had above 200 *sail of all sorts* (of prizes) *of the which we could not carry with us above three-score for want of men.* From this cause a squabble appears to have arisen between Ralegh and Williams. The colonel supplied a prize, probably taken by Ralegh, with his lieutenant and some soldiers, affirming that *the vessel had never been carried into England without his means.* In consequence of this he wanted to claim the ship and cargo, *the voyage having cost him above a thousand pounds.* His claim being thought unreasonable, the Earl of Bath, lieutenant of Devonshire, discharged his men from the vessel at Dartmouth. Williams upon this grew outrageous, and his clamours having reached the queen's ear he excited her displeasure, which occasioned the above-quoted letter to three of the privy-council. This letter farther informs us, the queen was so well pleased with the adventurers in this enterprise, that she honoured the principal of them, and among the rest Sir Walter Ralegh, with a golden chain[7].

Receives a golden chain.

Yet notwithstanding this information, we read in another extant letter, dated August 17th, 1589, from Captain (afterward Sir) Francis Allen to Anthony Bacon, Esq. brother to the Lord Chancellor, that the Generals Norris and Drake were returned from their Portugal voyage *with no better success than must needs*; and what is more to our purpose we find in the same letter, *My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Ralegh from the court, and confined him into Ireland—conjecture you the rest of that matter*[8].

Driven from court by Essex.

It appears indeed by his own writings[9], as well as by those of Edmund Spenser, that Ralegh was this year in Ireland, and that he visited the poet at his pleasant seat Kilcolman near the river Mulla, which the bounty of Queen Elizabeth had made him master of. In his pastoral, "Colin Clout's come Home again," dedicated two

Visits Spenser in Ireland.

[7] See Sir Roger Williams' Letter to the Treasurer, Admiral, and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, upon his return home from his expedition against Portugal and Spain, in the Harleian Collection, No. 6845, p. 100.

[8] Among the papers of Mr. Bacon in the Lambeth Library, Vol. I. fol. 122, and quoted by Dr. Birch in Memoirs Elizab. I. 55.

[9] See his mention of the Countess of Desmond, Hist. World, I. V. 5.

years

years afterward to Sir Walter, the poet calls Ralegh *the Shepherd of the Ocean*, and thus describes their meeting:

"One day, quoth he, I sat, as was my trade,
Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hoar,
Keeping my sheep among the cooly shade
Of the green alders, by the Mulla's shore:
There a strange shepherd chanc'd to find me out;
Whether allured with my pipe's delight,
Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,
Or thither led by chance, I know not right.
Whom when I asked from what place he came,
And how he hight, himself he did yclep
The shepherd of the ocean by name;
And said he came far from the main sea deep.
He, sitting me beside, in that same shade,
Provoked me to play some pleasant fit:
And when he heard the music which I made,
He found himself full greatly pleas'd at it.
Yet, emuling my pipe, he took in hand
My pipe before that emuled of many,
And play'd thereon, for well that skill he con'd,
Himself as skilful in that art as any.
He pip'd, I sung; and when he sung, I pip'd;
By change of turns each making other merry;
Neither envying other, nor envied,
So piped we until we both were weary."

Farther on we have

"His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindness and of usage hard,
Of Cynthia, the lady of the sea,
Which, from her presence, faultless him debarr'd
And ever and anon, with singult's rife, (10)
He cried out to make his undersong,
Ah! my love's queen and goddess of my life!
Who shall me pity when thou dost me wrong? (11)

These lines appear to allude to the difficulty under which Ralegh now laboured at court, and which, (though we have no farther in-

(10) Abundant sighs.
(11) If we could doubt it before, this line clearly proves that Queen Elizabeth was the Cynthia of the song.

formation

formation than the above transmitted to us upon it) we may reasonably conclude was produced by the incipient workings of that jealousy at which I have already hinted; while the following ones prove, that he was speedily restored to the royal favour.

" ——————— right well he sure did plain
That could great Cynthia's sore displeasure break,
And move to take him to her grace again."

Takes him to England.

From the tenor of this pastoral we are led to conclude, that Ralegh on his return took the poet with him by sea to England. It might indeed at first sight be supposed, that this was a poetical fiction to introduce the descriptions which the subject affords; but as the Dedication [12] to Ralegh, an actor in the scene, informs us that the poem *agrees with the truth in circumstance and matter*, we may reasonably conclude, that Spenser in reality accompanied him, while the following lines of the same poem prove, that he likewise recommended the poet to the notice of the queen.

Introduces him to the queen.

" The shepherd of the ocean, quoth he,
Unto that goddess' grace me first enhanc'd,
And to mine oaten pipe inclin'd her ear,
That she thenceforth therein 'gan take delight,
And it desir'd at timely hours to hear,
All were my notes but rude and roughly dight."

Encourages his Fairy Queen.

The FAIRY QUEEN had been begun under the auspices of Sir Philip Sidney, but the hand of death having stopped his patronage,

[12] It runs thus:

" *To the right worthy and noble Knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, Captain of Her Majesty's Guard, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and Lieutenant of the County of Cornwall.*

" *Sir!*

" *That you may see that I am not always idle, as you think, though not greatly well occupied, nor altogether undutiful, though not precisely officious, I make you present of this simple pastoral, unworthy of your higher conceit for the meanness of the stile, but agreeing with the truth in circumstance and matter. The which I humbly beseech you to accept, in part of payment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge myself bounden unto you for your singular favours, and sundry good turns shewed to me at my late being in England, and with your good countenance protect against the malice of evil mouths, which are always wide open to carp at and misconstrue my simple meaning. I pray continually for your happiness. From my house at Kilcolman, the 27th of December, 1591.*

Yours ever humbly,
ED. SP."

the three first books of the poem were now committed to the press under the encouragement of Ralegh. The letter, by way of [illegible] *ment* to explain the poem, is addressed to *the right, noble, and [illegible] ous Sir Walter Ralegh*; and among the commendatory verses we find the following contributed by the knight.

'Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
Within that temple, where the vestal flame
Was wont to burn; and passing-by that way,
To see that buried dust of living fame,
Whose tomb fair love and fairer virtue kept.
All suddenly I saw the Fairy Queen,
At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept,
And from thenceforth those graces were not seen.
For they this Queen attended, in whose stead
Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse;
Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did pierce;
Where Homer's spright did tremble all for grief,
And curs'd the access of that celestial thief."

"The praise of meaner wits this work like profit brings,
As doth the cuckoo's song delight when Philomela sings.
If thou hast form'd aright true virtue's face herein
Virtue herself[13] can best discern, to whom they written been.
If thou hast beauty prais'd, let her sole looks divine
Judge if ought therein be amiss, and mend it by her eyne.
If chastity want ought, or temperance her due,
Behold her princely mind aright, and write thy Queen anew.
Meanwhile she shall perceive how far her virtues soar
Above the reach of all that live, or such as wrote of yore;
And thereby will excuse and favour thy good-will,
Whose virtue cannot be express'd but by an angel's quill.
Of me no lines are lov'd, nor letters are of price,
Of all which speak our English tongue, but those of thy device."

Intercedes for Mr. Udall.

Mr. John Udall, a minister of the gospel, and a good scholar, but so warm a zealot for the reformation of the church, even under the

[13] Need the reader be informed, that the poet alludes to Queen Elizabeth?

episcopal

episcopal government, as to be classed among the Puritans of those
time called to London from his ministry at
by letters from the Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon
council, and examined for a book he had
the clergy, intituled *The Demonstration of*
hath prescribed in his Word for the Govern-
all Times and Places until the World's End[15].
would not betray himself, he was committed a close
the gate-house, refused all communication with his fa-
friends, removed to Croydon in July, 1590, brought to the 1590.
bar, and indicted for publishing a libel against the queen.
was taken in the high-commission-court, and hear-say re-
port without viva voce proof were the evidences produced against
him. His witnesses were not permitted to appear in his favour, because the book *being written against bishops who exercised their government under the queen, was written against her royal person.* The judges directed the jury to find Udall author of the book without legal proof, and to leave the felony to them. Being told that it should prove no detriment, but an advantage to the author, they obeyed the order, and repented of their verdict. Udall remained in confinement for half a-year without a sentence, and, refusing to relinquish his tenets, was condemed to death at the Southwark-assizes in the February following. In the interval he had procured a friend to solicit Sir Walter Ralegh, that the violent and aggravated constructions which had been made of his doctrine and principles, might not be allowed to destroy him, at least until a judgment less

[14] He had previously been minister of Kingston upon Thames.

[15] The treason inserted in the indictment consisted in these words to the bishops:— "*Who can without blushing deny you to be the cause of all ungodliness, seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing saving a sound Christian. For certainly it is more free in these days to be a Papist, an Anabaptist, of the family of love, yea any wicked one whatsoever, than that which we should be; and I could live these twenty years any such in England, yea in a bishop's house may be, and never be molested for it. So true is that which you are charged with in a dialogue lately come forth against you, and since burned by you, 'that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your own souls, and infinite millions more.*" Strype's Life of Whitgift, fol. 1718, p. 343.

prejudiced had been formed of them; and immediately after the sentence was pronounced, the sheriff brought him a reprieve from the queen. Udall after this was pestered with strict forms of submission, and the king of Scots [16] wrote to queen Elizabeth in behalf of him and other learned non-conformists; but he died [17] some time afterward in prison, at the very moment when his pardon was procured [18].

Defends Sir Richard Grenville.

1591.

Ralegh soon after this, gave a proof of his esteem for the memory of his friend Sir Richard Grenville, by the elaborate defence [19] which he wrote of that brave commander's conduct in Lord Thomas Howard's expedition of 1591, for intercepting the Spanish plate-fleet at the Azores, in which Sir Richard lost his life, and his ship, the Revenge, had been taken by the enemy before she sunk. The Spaniards act so conspicuous a part in Ralegh's story that it may not be uninteresting to the reader to peruse the concluding reflections made by Sir Walter in this piece, upon a people to whom he afterward proved so great an enemy, and on whom, the terror of his name was so deeply impressed.

Reflections on the Spaniards.

"For matter of religion, it would require a particular volume, if I should set down how irreligiously they cover their greedy and ambitious pretences, with that veil of piety. But sure I am, that there is no kingdom or commonwealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then invade it for religion-sake: if it be, as they term catholic, they pretend title, as if the kings of Castile were the natural heirs of all the world; and so between both, no kingdom is unsought. Where they dare not with their own forces to invade, they basely entertain

[16] Udall was the first man king James asked for when he came to England, and being told he was dead, he replied, *by my faul then the greatest scholar in Europe's dead.* Forde's Familiar Letters, p. 135.

[17] He was not brought to execution as Fuller (Church Hist. ix. 8. 31.) implies, though a contradiction to what he had already written, (ix. 8. 4.) See Forde as above.

[18] See A new Discovery of old Pontifical Practices, 4to, 1643, in Pref. This pamphlet is Udall's own account of the prosecution, and probably the same account which is reprinted in the State Trials. See also Birch's Memoirs Q. Elizab. I. 62.

[19] A Report of the truth of the fight about the isles of Azores this last summer, betwixt the Revenge, one of Her Majesty's ships, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, and an armada of the king of Spain, 4to, 1591, reprinted in Hakluyt's Voyages, fol. 1599, Vol. II. Part II. p. 169.

tertain the traitors and vagabonds of all nations; seeking by those and by their runnagate Jesuits to win parts; and have by that mean ruined many noble houses, and others in this land, and have extinguished both their lives and families. What good, honour, or fortune, ever man yet by them atchieved, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And if our English papists do but look into Portugal, against which they have no pretence of religion, how the nobility are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a prey, and all sorts of people captived, they shall find that the obedience even of the Turk is easy, and a liberty, in respect of the slavery and tyranny of Spain. What have they done in Sicily, in Naples, Milan, and in the Low-countries? Who hath there been spared for religion at all? And it cometh to my remembrance of a certain burgher of Antwerp, whose house being entered by a company of Spanish soldiers, when they first sacked the city, he besought them to spare him and his goods, being a good catholic, and one of their own party and faction. The Spaniards answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for himself, but his money, plate, jewels, and goods were all heretical; and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had been a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither have they at any time as they protest, invaded the kingdoms of the Indies, and Peru, and elsewhere, but only led thereunto rather to reduce the people to Christianity, than for either gold or empire. Whereas, in one only island, called Hispaniola, they have wasted thirty hundred thousand of the natural people, beside many millions else in other places of the Indies: a poor and harmless people, created of God, and might have been won to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as ever were persuaded thereunto. The story whereof is at large written, by a bishop of their own nation called Bartholomew de las Casas, and tranſlated into English, and many other languages, intituled "The Spanish Cruelties." Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of ravenous strangers, and especially in those Spaniards, which more greedily thirst after English blood, than after

the

the lives of any other people of Europe, for the many overt[illegible] dishonours they have received at our hands; whose weaknes[illegible] discovered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroa[illegible] rope, in India, by sea and land, we have even with handf[illegible] and ſhips, overthrown and dishonoured. Let not, therefore, [illegible] lishman, of what religion soever, have other opinion of th[illegible] but that those whom he seeketh to win of our nation, he [illegible] base and traiterous, unworthy persons, or unconstant fools [illegible] he useth his pretence of religion for no other purpose but [illegible] us from the obedience of our natural prince; thereby hop[illegible] to bring us to slavery and subjection, and then none sha[illegible] them so odious and disdained as the traitors themselves, [illegible] sold their country to a stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedience contrary to nature and religion; and contrary to that human and general honour, not only of Christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who have alway sustained what labour soever, and embraced even death itself for their country, prince or common-wealth. To conclude, it hath ever to this day pleased God to prosper and defend Her Majesty, to break the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworn traitors, and of unjust practices and invasions. She hath ever been honoured of the worthiest kings, served by faithful subjects, and shall, by the favour of God, resist, repel and confound all whatsoever attempts against her sacred person or kingdom. In the mean time, let the Spaniard and traitor vaunt of their success, and we her true and obedient vassals, guided by the shining light of her virtues, shall alway love her, serve her, and obey her, to the end of our lives."

Expedition to Panama.

Having now formed a design against the Spaniards in the West Indies, particularly at Panama, with a view of meeting the Plate-fleet, Ralegh was not only himself at great expence in fitting out a maritime force, but also employed all his interest to engage as many of his friends as he could, and others in the adventure. The plan he drew up appeared so feasible to Her Majesty, that, the co-adventurers having provided no less than thirteen sail of well-equipped ships, she added two men of war, the Garland and the Foresight, to the number,

gave

gave Sir Walter a commission as general of the fleet, and Sir John [illegible] list of lieutenant-general. A note in the hand-writing [illegible] relative to this expedition, was found among the Bur- [illegible] and is here copied:

	Tons.
Garland,	700.
Foresight,	400.
Roebuck,	350.
Alsedo,	400.
Great Susan,	350.
Susan Parnell,	300.
Marget and John,	300.
Dainty,	250.
Dragon,	200.
Prudence,	100.
Sun,	120.
Lion's Whelp,	120.
Disdain,	100.
Lark,	60.
Darling,	40.
	3790.

Of this the queen is to have according to her tonnage. The charge of victualing, arms, and other charges, will amount to some £20,000, whereof Her Majesty, for the venture of £3,000, is to have a seventh part; for the pay of the mariners one third; for the custom one twentieth; which may be the half of all, and that may amount unto four-score thousand pounds, the earl being excluded, deducting the charge [20].

The fleet sailed for the West of England in February, 1591-2, and was detained there till May, owing, it is said, to contrary winds. It is probable, however, that the want of due arrangement in the

[20] See Murdin's State Papers, p. 654.

necessary

necessary preliminaries was likewise a cause of this long detention; as Ralegh's letter in March from Chatham to Sir Robert Cecil, which here follows, seems to imply.

" SIR,

Letter to Cecil. " I received your letters this present day at Chatham concerning the wages of the mariners and others. For mine own part I am very willing to enter bond as you persuaded me, so as the privy-seal be first sent for my enjoying the third; but I pray consider, that I have laid all that I am worth, and must do ere I depart on this voyage. If it fall not out well, I can but lose all; and if nothing be remaining, wherewith should I pay the wages? Beside, Her Majesty told me herself, that she was contented to pay her part, and my Lord Admiral his, and I should but discharge for mine own ships. And farther, I have promised Her Majesty, that if I can persuade the companies to follow Sir Martin Forbisher, I will without fail return and bring them but into the sea, but some fifty or or three-score leagues, for which purpose my Lord Admiral hath lent me the Disdain; which to do, Her Majesty many times, with great grace, bid me remember, and sent me the same message by Will. Killegrewe, which, God willing, if I can persuade the companies, I mean to perform, though I dare not be acknown thereof to any creature. But, Sir, for me then to be bound for so great a sum, upon the hope of another man's fortune, I will be loth; and beside, if I were able, I see no privy-seal for my thirds. I mean not to come away, as they say I will, for fear of a marriage, and I know not what. If any such thing were, I would have imparted it unto yourself before any man living; and therefore I pray believe it not, and I beseech you to suppress what you can any such malicious report. For I protest before God, there is none on the face of the earth that I would be fastened unto. And so in haste I take my leave of Your Honour from Chatham, the 10th of March.

Yours ever to be commanded,

W. RALEGH[21]."

[21] See Murdin's State Papers, p. 663.

Sir

Sir Walter proceeded to sea with the fleet on the 6th of May, 1592, and the day following Sir Martin Forbisher overtook him with letters from the queen containing his recall. Ralegh, however, found his honour very deeply engaged in this undertaking, and that his reputation would not be safe, or the friends who had contributed so largely to the adventure be satisfied, unless he proceeded. He therefore interpreted the queen's letters with latitude, and continued in the fleet. They spoke a French ship, on board of which was a Mr. Nevel Davies returning from a twelve years captivity in Spain, who assured them they could have little hope of success in the West Indies, for the king of Spain had sent express orders, that no ships should sail, or treasure be shipped that year for his dominions. Moreover, on the 11th of May, the fleet being off Cape Finister, a storm scattered and distressed the ships so much, that Ralegh, reflecting how far the season was advanced for the Panama expedition, determined to obey the queen's order, and dividing the fleet into two squadrons, gave the command of one to Sir John Burgh, and of the other to Sir Martin Forbisher; with orders to the latter to keep in, and terrify the Spaniards on their own coast, while the former stationed himself at the Azores. The advice was good as the event proved, for the Spanish admiral collected the whole of his naval force to watch Forbisher, and protect the south of Spain, while the Indian caracs were left a prey to Burgh. Before the division of the fleet they took the Sancta Clara of about 600 tons burthen. Afterward Sir John Burgh captured a fly-boat, the master of which informed him, that a large fleet was prepared against the English at St. Lucar and Cadiz, under the command of Don Alphonso de Baçan. He descried but escaped this fleet in his course for the Azores, where he took several small caravels. On June 21st he arrived at Flores, where he heard of the East Indian caracs, one of which had lately passed by for Lisbon, and four more were said to be behind. He pursued, and soon discovered the Santa Cruz the foremost of them, which was so pressed that she fired herself,

1592.

Returns.

herself, but beside spoil the English took some prisoners out of her, who confessed that in fifteen days three greater caracs were likely to arrive at the same island. Sir John stationed his ships leagues asunder, so that his squadron commanded a distance of degrees, by which means, on the 3d of August, they took the Madre de Dios, one of the largest ships belonging to Portugal, and the richest prize that had ever been brought into England, being of 1600 tons burthen, whereof 900 were merchandize. This occasion produced the following letter from Ralegh and Sir John Hawkins (his principal partner in this enterprize) to the Lord Admiral.

Madre de Dios taken.

"OUR VERY GOOD LORD!

"We have conferred together about the East Indian ship to be brought to Plymouth by Sir John Burgh, and, in our opinions she can be no less worth than five hundred thousand pounds, being a ship of so great burthen, and laden with so rich commodities as appeareth she is. Wherefore we have considered, that the Spanish men-of-war lying upon the coast of Bretagne, hearing of so great a prize taken from the king or the merchants of the country, and envying that such a benefit should grow to us, to their hindrance and dishonour, will endeavour by all possible means, being distant but a day or night's sailing, either to recover the ship again, or to burn her and all her lading, rather than she shall be delivered here, seeing that the places of defence where the ship may remain are not able to resist their power. In our opinion, therefore, we think fit, and do pray Your Lordship, that three ships of Her Majesty's, which are appointed to keep the narrow seas, may, by Your Lordship's letter and directions, be appointed to go westward, and there to guard the Indian ship for a time, until the Garland and some of the same fleet be returned, whose arrival cannot be any long time expected; or till some order may be taken for the unlading or keeping of her otherwise, which we pray Your Lordship may be done with

with some expedition. And so we humbly take our leave this 27th of August, 1592.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,
W. RALEGH.
JOHN HAWKINS [22]."

This prize was brought into Dartmouth on the 7th Sept. following, where she for some time attracted a crowd of spectators. She drew five feet less water on arrival than when freighted at Cochin, and by the embezzlement of jewels and other valuable effects, the cargo fell short above two-thirds of the calculation made by Ralegh and Sir John Hawkins. The least of the men-of-war having been at the taking of her, the queen made use of her authority to claim the largest share of the booty, and Her Majesty is said to have *dealt but indifferently* [23] on the occasion.

The above-quoted letter must have been signed by Sir Walter in the Tower. For he cannot have been long returned from his expedition by sea, before he began to feel the royal displeasure which he had incurred by his amour with the beautiful Elizabeth, daughter of the celebrated statesman and ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and one of the maids of honour to the queen. Her Majesty was so much displeased at this intrigue, and the *extremity* to which it had been carried, that she confined both parties to the Tower. In a letter from Sir Edward Stafford to Anthony Bacon, Esq. [24], dated Drury house, July 30th, 1592, we read, *if you have any thing to do*

Confined in the Tower for debauching Elizabeth Throckmorton.

[22] See Oldys, p. 64, who refers to the Harleian Coll. for the original, where, however, I do not find it.

[23] These are the words of Sir Wm. Monson in his Naval Tracts, who informs us, that *being then released out of prison*, he sailed in a Hamburger with Don Alphonso's fleet. His confinement may have contributed to lessen his information on this expedition, which cannot be called satisfactory. The account in the text is that adopted by Oldys, Dr. Birch, and Dr. Campbell, from the cotemporary authorities, Hakluyt (II. Part II. p. 194.) and Camden (Ann. 1592.)

[24] See that gentleman's papers, Vol. II. p. 123, and Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, I. 79.

with

with Sir Walter Ralegh, or any love to make to Mrs. Throckmorton, at the Tower to-morrow you may speak with them if the countermand come not to-night, as some think will not be, and particularly he that hath charge to send them thither. Whatever culpability may attach to his moral character for this transgression, Sir Walter made the lady the most honourable reparation in his power by afterward offering her his hand in marriage, which she accepted. We shall find that they proved striking examples of conjugal affection, and that in the knight's greatest troubles, the partner of his bosom displayed extraordinary diligence and anxiety in making interest to relieve them. The following curious letter from Mr. (afterward Sir) Arthur Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil before he was secretary of state, probably refers to this period of Ralegh's confinement. The original bears no date of month or year, but the indorsement is *July* 26.

Marries her.

"HONOURABLE SIR!

"I cannot chuse but advertise you of a strange tragedy that this day had like to have fallen out between the Captain of the Guard and the Lieutenant of the Ordnance, if I had not by great chance come at the very instant to have turned it into a comedy. For upon the report of Her Majesty's being at Sir George Carye's, Sir W. Ralegh having gazed and sighed a long time at his study-window, from whence he might discern the barges and boats about the Blackfriars'-stairs, suddenly he brake out into a great distemper, and sware that his enemies had on purpose brought Her Majesty thither to break his gall in sunder with Tantalus' torment, that when she went away he might see his death before his eyes; with many such-like conceits. And as a man transported with passion, he sware to Sir George Carew, that he would disguise himself, and get into a pair of oars, to ease his mind but with a sight of the queen, or else he protested his heart would break. But the trusty jailor would none of that, for displeasing the higher powers as he said, which he more respected than the feeding of his humour, and so flatly refused to permit him. But, in conclusion upon this dispute, they

Anecdote in the Tower.

they fell flat out to choleric outrageous words, with straining and struggling at the doors, that all lameness was forgotten, and in the fury of the conflict, the jailor he had his new periwig torn off his crown, and yet here the battle ended not, for at last they had gotten out their daggers; which when I saw, I played the stickler between them, and so purchased such a rap on the knuckles, that I wished both their pates broken; and so with much ado they stayed their brawl to see my bloody fingers. At the first I was ready to break with laughing to see them two scramble and brawl like madmen, until I saw the iron walking, and then I did my best to appease the fury. As yet I cannot reconcile them by any persuasions, for Sir Walter swears, that he shall hate him for so restraining him from the sight of his mistress, while he lives; for that he knows not (as he said) whether ever he shall see her again, when she is gone the progress. And Sir George, on his side, swears that he had rather he should lose his longing, than that he would draw on him Her Majesty's displeasure by such liberty. Thus they continue in malice and snarling, but I am sure all the smart lighted on me. I cannot tell whether I should more allow of the passionate lover, or the trusty jailor. But if yourself had seen it as I did, you would have been as heartily merry and sorry, as ever you were in all your life for so short a time. I pray you pardon my hasty written narration, which I acquaint you with, hoping you will be the peace-maker. But, good Sir, let nobody know thereof, for I fear Sir Walter Ralegh will shortly grow to be Orlando Furioso, if the bright Angelica persevere against him a little longer.

Your honour's, humbly to be commanded,

"*London, in haste, this Wednesday.* A. GORGES."

On a slip of paper, fastened with wax to the letter, is the following postscript:

"If you let the Q. Majesty know hereof, as you think good be it; but otherwise, good Sir, keep it secret for their credits: for they know not of my discourse, which I could wish Her Majesty knew [25]."

[25] See MSS. Ashmole, Vol. 1929, p. 116. xii. and his Life of Ralegh, p. 27. —Dr. Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. 4106,

The

The Burleigh papers furnish us with the three following letters also, from Sir Walter, in July, 1592, to Sir Robert Cecil. The first of them appears to have been written with a view that it should be shewn to the queen, and the others acquaint us with the treatment his property in the sister-kingdom experienced in consequence of his disgrace, a circumstance of which the utmost use would naturally be made by his enemies and rivals in power.

"SIR,

Three letters to Cecil.

"I pray be a mean to Her Majesty for the signing of the bills for the guards coats, which are to be made now for the progress, and which the clerk of the check hath importuned me to write for. My heart was never broken 'till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison, all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less, but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all. O glory, that only shineth in misfortune! what is become of thy assurance? All wounds have scars but that of fantasy; all affections their relenting but that of woman-kind. Who is the judge of friendship but adversity, or when is grace witnessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by reason of compassion, for revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, can they not weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hidden in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *spes et fortuna valete.* She is gone, in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that that was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list. I am more weary

of

of life than they are desirous I should perish; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born.

Yours, not worthy any name or title,

W. R."

"*To my honourable Friend, Sir Robert Cecil, Knight of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.*"

"SIR,

I wrote unto your father how I am dealt withal by the deputy, to whom my disgraces have been highly commended. He supposed a debt of four hundred pounds to the queen, for rent, and sent order to the sheriff to take away all the cattle my tenants had, and sell them the next day, unless the money were paid the same day. All Munster hath scarce so much money in it, and the debt, was indeed, but fifty marks, which was paid, and it was the first and only rent that hath yet been paid by any undertaker. But the sheriff did as he commanded, and took away five hundred milch-kine from the poor people; some had but two, and some three, to relieve their poor wives and childern, and in a strange country, newly set down to build and plant. He hath forcibly thrust me out of possession of a castle, because it is in law between me and his cousin Winckfeld, and will not hear my attornies speak. He hath admitted a ward, and given it his man, of a castle which is the queen's, and hath been by me new built, and planted with English these five years; and to profit his man with a wardship, loseth Her Majesty's inheritance, and would plant the cousin of a rebel in the place of Englishmen, the castle standing in the most dangerous place of all Munster. Beside, there is a band of soldiers, which a base fellow, Ododall, hath in Yoholl, which doth cost the queen twelve hundred pounds a-year, and hath not ten good men in it; but our poorest people muster and serve him for threepence a-day, and the rest of his soldiers do nothing but spoil the

the country, and drive away our best tenants. If the queen be over-rich, it may be maintained; but I will at three days warning, raise her a better band, and arm it better tenfold, and better men, whensoever she shall need it. And in the mean time, it may either be employed in the north, or discharged; for there is in Munster beside, a band of horse, and another of foot, which is more than needeth. In this, if you please to move it, you may save Her Majesty so much in her coffers. For the rest I will send my man to attend you, although I care not either for life or lands; but it will be no small weakening to the queen in those parts, and no small comfort to the ill-affected Irish, to have the English inhabitants driven out of the country; which are yet strong enough to master the rest without her charge.

Yours, to do you service,

W. RALEGH."

" To my honourable Friend, Sir R. Cecil, Kt. of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council."

" SIR,

" I pray send me the news of Ireland. I hear that there are three thousand of the Burgks' in arms, and young Odonell, and the sons of Shane Oneale. I wrote in a letter of Mr. Killegrew's, ten days past, a prophecy of this rebellion, which when the queen read, she made a scorn at my conceit, but you shall find it but a showree of a farther tempest. If you please to send me word of what you hear, I will be laughed at again in my opinion touching the same, and be bold to write you my farther suspicion. Your cousin, the doting deputy, hath dispeopled me, of which I have written to your father already. It is a sign how my disgraces have passed the seas, and have been highly commended to that wise governor, who hath used

used me accordingly. So I leave to trouble you at this time, being become like a fish cast on dry land, gasping for breath, with lame legs, and lamer lungs.

Yours, for the little while
I shall desire to do you service,
W. RALEGH [26].

"*To my very loving Friend, Sir Robert Cecil, Knight of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.*"

Sir Walter remained in confinement till late in September, 1592, when he wa liberated from the Tower, and after shewing himself for two days in London he proceeded to the West of England to look after his share in the Madre de Dios [27]. He appears, in the opinion of some people at least, to have been well-used in this adventure, for we read in a letter written by Mr. Anthony Bacon, early in the year 1592-3 to Mr. (afterward Sir) Anthony Standen, *Sir Walter Ralegh having been almost a year in disgrace, for several occasions, as I think you have heard, is yet hovering between fear and hope, notwithstanding his great share of the rich carac* [28]. In the session of parliament, commencing Feb. 19, 1592-3, and ending April 10th, 1593, he makes a conspicuous figure as a public speaker, though it is uncertain what place he represented. He was first upon the committee for the privileges of the members to examine into election cases, and next in that against popish recusants. When the bill for subsidies to the queen was in debate, certain members were of opinion that it should be expressly declared in the bill, that these subsidies were for the purpose of maintaining an offensive and defensive war against Spain, that

Released from confinement.

1593.

Shines as a speaker in parliament.

[26] See Murdin's State Papers, p. 657-8.

[27] See a letter from Mr. Morgan Colman, to Mr. Anthony Bacon, dated London, September, 23d, 1592, among Mr. Bacon's papers, before referred to, II. 142.

[28] See Birch's Memoirs, Q. Elizab. I. 93.

our conquests over that country might be legal and warrantable. Sir Walter strongly seconded this opinion, and said, *he knew many that held it not lawful in conscience, as the time is, to take from the Spaniards: and he knew that if it might be lawful and open war, there would be more voluntary hands to fight against the Spaniard, than the queen should stand in need of to send to sea* [29]. He was accordingly appointed of the committee for drawing the articles and preamble of this bill; and his speeches for the subsidy are thus reported in the journals of the day:

His speeches for the subsidy;

"Sir Walter Ralegh spake for the subsidy, not only (as he protested) to please the queen, to whom he was infinitely bound above his deserts, but for the necessity he both saw and knew. He very well discovered the great strength of the king of Spain; and to shew his mightiness, he told how he possessed all the world. As also that his malice and ill-purpose was evident to this realm, he showed, how on every side he had beleaguered us. In Denmark, the king being young, he had corrupted the council and nobility so, as he was very like to speed himself of shipping from thence. In the marine towns of the Low-countries, and in Norway he laid in great store of shipping. In France he had the parliament-towns at his command. In Britanny he had all the best havens. And in Scotland he had so corrupted the nobility, that he had promised them forces to re-establish papistry; that they were ready to join with any foreign forces that would make them strong, to be by themselves, and to resist others. For, as he thought, there were not six gentlemen of that country of one religion. In his own country there is all possible repairing, and he is coming with sixty gallies, beside other shipping with purpose to annoy us. We must then have no ships (if he invade us) riding at anchor, all will be little enough to withstand him. At his coming, he fully determineth to get Plymouth, or at least to possess some of the havens this summer, within our land. And Plymouth is a place of most danger, for no ordnance can be carried thither to

[29] D'Ewes' Journal, p. 478.

remove

remove him, the passages will not give leave. Now the way to defeat him is this, to send a royal army to supplant him in Britanny, and to possess ourselves there; and to send a strong navy to sea, and to lie with it upon the Cape, and such places as his ships bring his riches to, that they may set upon all that come. This we are able to do, and undoubtedly with fortunate success if we undertake it [30].—I can see no reason that the suspicion of discontentment should cross the provision for the present danger. The time is now more dangerous than it was in eighty-eight; for then the Spaniard which came from Spain, was to pass dangerous seas, and had no place of retreat or relief if he failed: but now he hath in Britanny great store of shipping, a landing-place in Scotland, and men and horses there as good as we have any. But for the difficulty in getting this subsidy, I think it seems more difficult by speaking, than it would be in gathering [31]."

The bill against aliens retailing foreign wares among us, produced several weighty arguments and speeches in the house. These foreigners were Dutchmen, who fixing themselves in the anciently-appropriated sanctuary of St. Martin, practised spinning and weaving there, to the detriment of our own citizens, the queen's subsidy, and the wealth of the kingdom. Ralegh's speech on the occasion has been applauded for the knowledge it displays of the true interest of his country.

against aliens retailing foreign wares.

"Whereas it is pretended, that for strangers it is against charity, against honour, against profit to expel them; in my opinion it is no matter of charity to relieve them. For, first, such as fly hither have forsaken their own king, and religion is no pretext for them; for we have no Dutchmen here, but such as come from those princes where the gospel is preached, and here they live disliking our church. For honour, it is honour to use strangers as we be used among strangers; and it is a lightness in a common-wealth, yea, a baseness in a nation to give a liberty to another nation which we cannot receive again. In Antwerp, where our intercourse was most, we were never suffered to

[30] D'Ewes' Journal, p. 484.

[31] Ibid. p. 493.

have a tailor or a shoemaker to dwell there. Nay, at Millain where there are three-hundred-pound Englishmen, they cannot have so much as a barber among them. And for profit, they are all of the house of Almoigne who pay nothing, yet eat out our profits, and supplant our own nation. Custom indeed they pay, paying fifteen-pence where we pay twelve-pence, but they are discharged of subsidies. The nature of the Dutchman is to fly to no man, but for his profit, and they will obey no man long; now under Spain, now under Mounfort, now under the Prince of Orange, but under no governor long. The Dutchman by his policy hath gotten trading with all the world into his hands; yea, he is now entering into the trade of Scarborough-fishing, and the fishing of the Newfoundlands, which is the stay of the west-countries. They are the people that maintain the king of Spain in his greatness. Were it not for them, he were never able to make out such armies and navies by sea; it cost Her Majesty sixteen thousand pounds a-year the maintaining of these countries, and yet for all this they arm her enemies against her. Therefore I see no reason that so much respect should be given unto them. And so to conclude, in the whole cause I see no matter of honour, no matter of charity, no profit in relieving them [32]."

The king of Spain having lately founded at Valladolid, in the shape of an English cloister, a nursery to supply us with treason and rebellion, so many hopeful stocks were speedily transplanted hither, that a proclamation had been published by Queen Elizabeth in 1591 against popish seminaries abroad, to the framing of which Ralegh had probably been instrumental. For Father Parsons the Jesuit, whose bigotry and malice at least equalled his talents as a writer, in the libel which he this year (1593) published in Latin, under the name of *Andreas Philopater* [33], against the great men of the court who framed the proclamation, shewed peculiar spleen against Sir Walter. The imputation which he cast upon him was no less than that of

Aspersed with Atheism.

[32] D'Ewe's Journal, p. 508.

[33] Elizabethæ Reginæ Angliæ edictum promulg. Lond. Nov. 29, 1591, et Andr. Philopatris ad idem responsio, 8vo. Lugd. ap J. Didier, 1593.

being

g a direct founder and doctor of a school of Atheism, and striving nake young gentlemen converts to the principles of it. The bow from which this arrow is shot, is of itself nearly sufficient to make it miss its mark. I must, however, refer my reader to my last chapter, its proper place, for the farther consideration of this subject, and have only noticed the fact here in its chronological order to elucidate an observation made by Lord Chief Justice Popham on Ralegh's trial in 1603.

Meanwhile Sir Walter's endeavours to recover the royal favour after his late disgrace, seem speedily to have been crowned with some degree of success. For Dr. John Coldwell having on his election to the See of Salisbury consented to alienate the manor of Sherborne in Dorsetshire to the crown, Ralegh solicited and obtained it of Her Majesty; and in January 1593-4 he had hopes of being included in a list of privy-counsellors [34] then expected to be made. I shall conclude this Chapter with three more of Sir Walter's letters relative to this period, and some poetical pieces ascribed to him, and probably written about this time. There is no date affixed to the letter to Queen Elizabeth, which I believe has not hitherto been printed; but its contents sufficiently prove, that it was written at a time when the knight laboured under her displeasure. By the dates of the two last of these letters, he appears to have resided for some time at his seat at Sherborne—probably till the storm of royal indignation had more fully subsided. For, among the Talbot papers, we find in a letter from Mr. Anthony Ashley to Lord Shrewsbury, dated September 8th, 1594, *Sir Walter Ralegh is in good hope to return into grace, and is now purposely at London, which giveth cause of discontentment to some other* [35].

Obtains Sherborne manor.

1594.

[34] See Birch's Memoirs of Q. Elizabeth, I. 151.

[35] See Talbot Papers, I. 222. and Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist. &c. 4to, 1791, III. 67.

"To

" To Queen Elizabeth.

Letter to the queen.

" I presumed to present Your Majesty with a paper, containing the dangers which might grow by the Spanish faction in Scotland. How it pleased Your Majesty to accept thereof I know not. I have since heard, that divers ill-disposed have a purpose to speak of succession. If the same be suppressed I am glad of it; yet, fearing the worst, I set down some reasons to prove the motive merely vain, dangerous, and unnecessary. And because I durst not myself speak in any matter without warrant, I have sent Your Majesty these arguments, which may perchance put others in mind of somewhat not impertinent; and who, being graced by Your Majesty's favour, may, if need require, use them among others more worthy. Without glory I speak it, that I durst either by writing or speech satisfy the world in that point, and in every part of their foolish conceits, which, for shortness of time, I could not so amply insert. This being upon one hour's warning, but one hour's work, I humbly beseech Your Majesty not to acquaint any withal, unless occasion be offered to use them. Your Majesty may perchance speak hereof to those seeming my great friends, but I find poor effects of that or any other supposed amity; for Your Majesty having left me, I am left all alone in the world, and am sorry that ever I was at all. What I have done is out of zeal and love, and not by any encouragement; for I am only forgotten in all rights, and in all affairs; and mine enemies have their wills and desires over me. There are many other things concerning Your Majesty's present service, which methinks are not, as they ought, remembered; and the times pass away unmeasured, of which more profit might be taken. But I fear I have already presumed too much, which love stronger than reason hath encouraged; for my errors are eternal, and those of others mortal, and my labours thankless, I mean unacceptable, for that too belongeth not to vassals. If Your Majesty pardon it, it is more than too great a reward. And so most humbly embracing

embracing and admiring the memory of the celestial beauties, (which with the people is denied me to view) I pray God Your Majesty may be eternal in joys and happiness.

Your Majesty's most humble slave,

W. R.[36]

"*For the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.*"

To Sir Robert Cecil.

"SIR,

"I am very sorry for Mr. Wilkinson and the rest that I hear are lost in the river of Burdens; but for my part I was resolved of the success before-hand, and so much I told Wilkinson before his departure. Of this Irish combination Her Majesty shall find it remembered to herself not long since; but the Trojan soothsayer cast his spear against the wooden horse, but not believed. I did also presume to speak somewhat how to prevent this purpose, and I think it not overhard to be yet done; and if I had by any chance been acquainted with the Lord Burgh's instructions, I would have put you in mind to have won the Earl of Argyle rather than all the rest of Scotland; for by him this fire must be only maintained in Ulstell. But for me to speak of the one or the other, I know my labours are prejudicate, and I cannot hereafter deserve either thanks or acceptance. Less than that number of men appointed, I take it, will serve the turn, if the garrisons be placed aright to impeach the assemblies, and some small pinnaces ordered to lie between Cautirr's and Odonell's country; but herein the order of the time hath most power. There be also others in Ireland that lie in wait, not suspected, which I most fear, and others most able and fit to make them neglected and discouraged; which small matters would have hardened to great purpose, as the time will better witness. I had been able myself to

Letter to Cecil.

[36] See Dr. Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. No. 4160, 77.

have

have raised two or three bands of English well armed, till I was driven to relinquish and recall my people, of which the loss shall not be alone to me, howsoever I am tumbled down the hill by every practice. We are so busied and dandled in these French wars, which are endless, as we forget the defence next the heart. Her Majesty hath good cause to remember, that a million hath been spent in Ireland not many years since. A better kingdom might have been purchased at a less price, and that same defended with as many pence if good order had been taken. But the question now may be, whether for so great expence the estate be not less assured than ever? If Her Majesty consider it aright, she shall find it no small dishonour to be vexed with so beggarly a nation, that have neither arms nor fortification; but that accursed kingdom hath always been but as a traffic, for which Her Majesty hath paid both freight and custom, and others received the merchandize; and other than such shall it never be. The king of Spain seeketh not Ireland for Ireland, but, having raised-up troops of beggars in our back, shall be able to enforce us to cast our eyes over our shoulders, while those before us strike us on the brains. We have also known the level of his subversion; but destiny is stronger than counsel, and good advice, either neglected or weakly executed, hath taught our enemies to arm those parts, which before lay bare to the sword. Prevention is the daughter of intelligence, which cannot be born without a mother; and the good woman hath so many patrons as the one referreth her cherishing to another's trust, and in the meanwhile she liveth barren and fruitless. Sir, these poor countries yield no news. I hear of a frigate that taketh-up fishermen for pilots in the west. I am myself here at Sherborne, in my fortune's fold. Wherever I be, and while I am, you shall command me. I think I shall need your farther favour for the little park; for law and conscience is not sufficient in these days to uphold me. Every fool knoweth that hatred are the cinders of affection, and therefore to make me a sacrifice shall be thanksworthy. Sir, I

pray

pray remember my duty to my Lord Admiral, and to your father if it please you. From Sherborne this 10th of May, 1593.

Yours, most assured to do you service,

W. RALEGH."

"*To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil, Kt. of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.*"

"I am the worse for the bath, and not the better[37]."

To the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD!

Letter to Lord Keeper.

"There hath been a subpœna granted out of the Star-chamber for the appearance of one Thomas Whitford and William Dobb, before Your Lordship and the rest of Her Majesty's most honourable privy council, for verifying their knowledge in a stannary-cause, as witnesses in an action upon the case between one Denshire and Stevens. The trial and penalty of the offence (if any shall be proved) is to be censured in Her Majesty's absolute jurisdiction of the stannary; and Her Majesty hath been pleased of late, upon complaint by me made unto her, to signify to my honourable good lord the Lord Treasurer, that the stannary-authority shall consist and continue according to the ancient custom and prerogative, and not to be contradicted by private censure; and that all abuses upon my information, shall be presently reformed. I think Your Lordship is not thoroughly acquainted herewith, because a stannary-cause is suffered to be prosecuted in that court; and therefore I am bold to put you in mind thereof, and to pray you to dismiss the same out of the Star-chamber, to be tried in the stannaries where it is

[37] See Murdin's State Papers, p. 664.

determinable. And so I humbly take my leave. From my castle at Sherborne, the 2d of May, 1594.

Your Lordship's most humble at commandment,

W. RALEGH [38]."

"*To the Right Honourable my very good Lord the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.*"

An Heroical Poem.

"My wanton muse, that whilom us'd to sing
Fair beauty's praise, and Venus' sweet delight,
Of late had chang'd the tenor of her string
To higher tunes than serve for Cupid's fight:
Shrill trumpets' sound, sharp swords, and lances strong,
War, blood, and death, were matter of my song.

The god of love by chance had heard thereof,
That I was prov'd a rebel to his crown.
"Fit words for war!" quoth he, in angry scoff,
"A likely man to write of Mars' frown!
"Well are they sped, whose praises he shall write,
"Whose wanton pen can nought but love indite!"

This said, he whisk'd his party-coloured wings,
And down to earth he comes, more swift than thought:
Then to my heart in angry haste he flings,
To see what change these news of war had wrought.
He pries, he looks, he ransacs every vein,
Yet finds he nought, save love, and lover's pain.

Then I, that now perceiv'd his needless fear,
With heavy smile began to plead my cause.
"In vain," quoth I, "this endless grief I bear,
"In vain I strive to keep thy grievous laws,

[38] See the Harleian Collection, 6990, lxviii.

" If, after proof, so often trusty found,
" Unjust suspect condemn me as unsound.—

" My Muse, indeed, to war inclines her mind;
" The famous acts of worthy Brute to write
" To whom the gods this island's rule assign'd,
" Which long he sought by seas, through Neptune's spite.
" With such conceits my busy *head* doth swell,
" But in my *heart* nought else but love can dwell.

" And in this war thy part is not the least;
" Here shalt my muse Brute's noble love declare;
" Here shalt thou see thy double love increas'd
" Of fairest twins that ever lady bare.
" Let Mars triumph in armour shining bright,
" His conquer'd arms shall be thy triumph's light.

" As he the world, so thou shalt him subdue;
" And I thy glory through the world will ring;
" So, by my pains, thou wilt consent to rue,
" And kill despair." With that he whisk'd his wing,
And bid me write, and promis'd wished rest;
But, sore I fear, false hope will be the best[39]."

A Defiance to Disdainful Love.

" Now have I learn'd with much ado, at last,
By true disdain to kill desire;
This was the mark at which I shot so fast;
Unto this height I did aspire.
Proud love, now do thy worst! and spare not;
For thee, and all thy shafts, I care not!

What hast thou left wherewith to move my mind?
What life to quicken dead desire?
I count thy words and oaths as light as wind,
I feel no heat in all thy fire.
Go! change thy bow, and get a stronger;
Go! break thy shafts, and buy thee longer!

[39] See England's Helicon.

In vain thou bait'st thy hooks with beauty's blaze,
In vain thy wanton eyes allure:
These are but toys for them that love to gaze;
I know what harm thy looks procure.
Some strange conceit must be devised,
Or thou, and all thy arts, despised[40]."

The Silent Lover.

" Passions are liken'd best to floods and streams;
The shallow murmur, but the deep are dumb:
So, when affections yield discourse, it seems
The bottom is but shallow whence they come.
They that are rich in words must needs discover
They are but poor in that which makes a lover.

Wrong not, sweet mistress of my heart,
The merit of true passion,
With thinking that he feels no smart
Who sues for no compassion.

Since if my plaints were not t' approve
The conquest of thy beauty,
It comes not from defect of love,
But fear t' exceed my duty.

For, knowing that I sue to serve
A saint of such perfection
As all desire, but not deserve
A place in her affection;

I rather chuse to want relief,
Than venture the revealing:
Where glory recommends the grief,
Despair disdains the healing.

Thus those desires that boil so high
In any mortal lover,
When reason cannot make them die,
Discretion them must cover.

[40] See England's Helicon.

Yet

Yet when discretion doth bereave
The plaints that I should utter,
Then your discretion may perceive
That silence is a suitor.

Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words, though ne'er so witty;
A beggar that is dumb, you know,
May challenge double pity.

Then wrong not, dearest to my heart,
My love for secret passion;
He smarteth most who hides his smart,
And sues for no compassion[41]."

[41] See Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 394.

CHAP. IV.

Contemplates a voyage abroad.

UNDER the displeasure of his sovereign, and in retirement from her court, Sir Walter contemplated a greater design than any of those which he had hitherto projected—the discovery of the rich and extensive empire of Guiana in South America. *Finding his favour declining and falling into a recess,* says Naunton, *he undertook a new perigrination, to leave that* terra infirma *of the court for that of the waves, and by declining himself, and by absence to expel his and the passion of his enemies; which in court was a strange device of recovery, but that he then knew there was some ill-office done him; yet he durst not attempt to mend it otherwise than by going aside, thereby to teach envy a new way of forgetfulness, and not so much as think of him*[1]. Sir Walter attended this expedition in person, and himself wrote an account of it; which, as it will be preferable to any other for the illustration of his own history, constitutes the present Chapter.

To the Right Hon. my singular good Lord and Kinsman, CHARLES HOWARD, *Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counsellor, and of the Admirals of England the most renowned; and to the Right Hon. Sir* ROBERT CECIL, *Knight, Counsellor in Her Highness' Privy Councils.*

Dedication to the 1st Guiana Voyage.

" For Your Honours' many honourable and friendly parts, I have hitherto only returned promises; and now, for answer of both your

[1] Fragmenta Regalia. In addition to this Camden informs us, *Walterus Raleghus, Regii Satellitii præfectus, honoraria Reginæ virgine vitiata (quam postea in uxorem duxit) de gratia dejectus et per plures menses custodia detentus, nunc liber factus, sed ab Aula relegatus, genio suo obsecutus, qui ad remotas regiones explorandas et abdita naturæ indaganda totus ferebatur, navigationem ad Guianam auriferam ab Hispanis decantatam suscepit, quam et patriæ honori et usui futuram speravit, tum ad opes comparandas, tum ad Hispanum in interioribus Americæ regionibus gravius infestandum, quod commodius fieri posse existimavit, quam in ora maritima, ubi oppida nunquam opulenta nisi quum opes ad ea convehantur ut in Hispaniam transferantur.* Annal. Elizab. 1595.

adventures,

adventures, I have sent you a bundle of papers which I have divided between Your Lordship and Sir Robert Cecil in these two respects chiefly. First, for that it is reason that wasteful factors, when they have consumed such stocks as they had in trust, do yield some colour for the same in their account. Secondly, for that I am assured, that whatsoever shall be done or written by me, shall need a double protection and defence. The trial that I had of both your loves when I was left of all, but of malice and revenge, makes me still presume that you will be pleased (knowing what little power I had to perform aught, and the great advantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge, which others shall but object out of malice. In my more happy times, as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loves sought me out in the darkest shadow of adversity, and that the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, soared not away from me in my many miseries; all which, though I cannot requite, yet I shall ever acknowledge; and the great debt which I have no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confess to be due. It is true, that as my errors were great, so they have yielded very grievous effects; and if aught might have been deserved in former times to have counterpoised any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stock only remained. I did therefore, even in the winter of my life, undertake these travels, fitter for bodies less blasted with misfortunes, for men of greater ability, and for minds of better encouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recover but the moderation of excess, and the least taste of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had known other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther means I might yet use, but even to appease so powerful a displeasure, I would not doubt, but for one year more, to hold fast my soul in my teeth till it were performed. Of that little remain I had, I have wasted in effect all herein; I have undergone many constructions, I have been accompanied with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat,

heat, sickness, and peril: it appeareth, notwithstanding, that I made no other bravado of going to the sea than was meant, and that I was neither hidden in Cornwall, or elsewhere, as was supposed. They have grossly belied me, that forejudged that I would rather become a servant to the Spanish king than return; and the rest were much mistaken, who would have persuaded that I was too easeful and sensual to undertake a journey of so great travail. But if what I have done receive the gracious construction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall think all too little, and that there were wanting to the rest many miseries: but if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, do all, by one grain of gall, continue in an eternal distaste, I do not then know whether I should bewail myself either for my too much travail and expence, or condemn myself for doing less than that, which can deserve nothing. From myself I have deserved no thanks, for I am returned a beggar, and withered; but that I might have bettered my poor estate it shall appear by the following discourse, if I had not only respected Her Majesty's future honour and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once lived to go journies of picory; and it had sorted ill with the offices of honour, which by Her Majesty's grace I hold this day in England, to run from cape to cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes.

Many years since I had knowledge by relation of that mighty, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana, and of that great and golden city which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa, which city was conquered, re-edified, and enlarged by a younger son of Guainacapa, emperor of Peru, at such time as Francisco Pazaro, and others, conquered the said empire, from his two elder brethren Guascar and Atabalipa; both then contended for the same, the one being favoured by the Orciones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caximalca. I sent my servant, Jacob Whiddon, the year before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captain Parker, sometime my servant, and now attending on Your Lordship,

that

that such a place there was to the southward of the great bay of Charuas, or Guanipa; but I found that it was six hundred miles farther off than they supposed, and many other impediments to them unknown and unheard. After I had displanted Don Antonio de Berreo, who was upon the same enterprise, leaving my ships at Trinedado, at the port called Curiapan, I wandered four hundred miles into the said country, by land and river; the particulars I will leave to the following discourse. The country hath more quantity of gold, by manifold, than the best parts of the Indies, or Peru; all or most of the kings of the borders are already become Her Majesty's vassals, and seem to desire nothing more than Her Majesty's protection, and the return of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory, than the voyages of the West Indies, and an easier way to invade the best parts thereof, than by the common course. The king of Spain is not so empoverished by taking two or three port-towns in America, as we suppose, neither are the riches of Peru, or Nueva Espania, so left by the sea-side, as it can be easily washed away with a great flood, or spring-tide, or left dry upon the sands on a low ebb. The port-towns are few and poor, in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are only rich when the fleets are to receive the treasure for Spain; and we might think the Spaniards very simple, having so many horses and slaves, that if they could not upon two days warning carry all the gold they have into the land, and far enough from the reach of our footmen, especially the Indies being (as it is for the most part) so mountainous, so full of woods, rivers, and marshes. In the port-towns of the province of Vensuello, as Cumana, Coro, and St. Jago (whereof Coro and St. Jago were taken by captain Preston, and Cumana and St. Josephus by us) we found not the value of one rial of plate in either; but the cities of Barquisimeta, Valentia, St. Sebastian, Cororo, St. Lucia, Alleguna, Marecabo, and Truxillo, are not so easily invaded; neither doth the burning of those on the coast impoverish the king of Spain any one ducat; and if we sack the river of Hache, St. Marta, and Cartagena, which are the ports of Nuevo

Reyno and Popayan; there are beside, within the land, which are indeed rich and populous, the towns and cities of Merida, Lagrita, St. Christophero, the great cities of Pampelone, St. Fe de Bogota, Tunia and Mozo, where the emeralds are found, the towns and cities of Moriquito, Velis, la Villa de Leùa, Palma, Unda, Angustura, the great city of Timana, Tocaima, St. Aguila, Pasto, Juago, the city of Popayan itself, Los Remedios, and the rest. If we take the ports and villages within the bay of Vraba, in the kingdom or rivers of Dariena, and Caribana, the cities and towns of St. Juan de Roydas, of Caſſaris, of Antiocha; Caramanta, Cali, and Auserma, have gold enough to pay the king part, and are not easily invaded by the way of the ocean; or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken, in the province of Castillo de Oro, and the villages upon the rivers of Cenu and Chagre. Peru hath beside those, and beside the magnificent cities of Quito and Lima, so many islands, ports, cities and mines, as, if I should name them with the rest, it would seem incredible to the reader; of all which, because I have written a particular treatise of the West-Indies, I will omit their repetition at this time, seeing that in the said treatise I have anatomized the rest of the sea-towns, as well of Nicaragna, Jucata, Nueva Espanna, and the islands, as those of the inland, and by what means they may be best invaded, as far as my mean judgment can comprehend.

But I hope it shall appear that there is a way found to answer every man's longing, a better Indies for Her Majesty than the king of Spain hath any; which if it should please Her Highness to undertake, I shall most willingly end the rest of my days in following the same. If it be left to the spoil and sackage of common persons, if the love and service of so many nations be despised, so great riches, and so mighty an empire refused, I hope Her Majesty will yet take my humble desire, and my labour therein, in gracious part, which if it had not been in respect of Her Highness' future honour and riches, I could have laid hands and ransomed many of the kings and cassiqui of the country, and have had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption; but I have chosen rather to bear the burden of poverty than reproach, and rather

to

to endure a second travail, and the chances thereof, than to have defaced an enterprize of so great assurance, until I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royal heart, either to follow or foreslow the same. I will therefore leave it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, and do humbly pray that your honours will excuse such errors as, without the defence of art, over-run in every part the following discourse, in which I have neither studied phrase, form, nor fashion; and that you will be pleased to esteem me as your own (though over-dearly bought) and I shall ever remain ready to do you all honour and service.

W. R."

To the Reader.

Address to the reader.

" Because there have been divers opinions conceived of the gold ore brought from Guiana, and for that an alderman of London, and an officer of Her Majesty's mint, hath given out that the same is of no price. I have thought good by the addition of these lines to give answer as well to the said malicious slander, as to other objections. It is true, that while we abode at the island of Trinedado, I was informed by an Indian, that not far from the port where we anchored, there were found certain mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, and were thereunto persuaded the rather, for that they had seen both English and Frenchmen gather and embark some quantities thereof. Upon this likelihood I sent forty men, and gave order that each one should bring a stone of that mine, to make trial of the goodness; which being performed, I assured them at their return, that the same was marcasite, and of no riches or value: notwithstanding, divers trusting more to their own sense than to my opinion, kept of the said marcasite, and have tried thereof, since my return, in divers places. In Guiana itself I never saw marcasite, but all the rocks, mountains, all stones in the plains, in woods, and by the rivers' sides, are, in effect, thorough shining, and appear marvellous rich; which being tried to be no marcasite, are the true signs of rich minerals, but are no other

than el madre del oro (as the Spaniards term them) which is the mother of gold, or, as it is said by others, the scum of gold: of divers sorts of these many of my company brought also into England, every one taking the fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part, I did not countermand any man's desire or opinion, and I could have afforded them little if I should have denied them the pleasing of their own fancies therein; but I was resolved that gold must be found, either in grains separate from the stone (as it is in most of all the rivers in Guiana) or else in a kind of hard stone, which we call the white sparr, of which I saw divers hills, and in sundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor instruments fit to labour. Near unto one of the rivers I found of the said white sparr, or flint, a very great lidge, or bank, which I endeavoured to break by all the means I could, because there appeared on the outside some small grains of gold; but finding no means to work the same upon the upper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rock, I found a cleft in the same, from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out some small quantities thereof, of which kind of white stone (wherein gold is engendered) we saw divers hills and rocks in every part of Guiana, wherein we travelled. Of this there hath been made many trials; and in London it was first assayed by Master Westwood, a refiner, dwelling in Wood-street, and it held after the rate of 12,000 or 13,000 pounds a ton. Another sort was afterward tried by Master Bulmar and Master Dimoke, assay-master, and it held after the rate of 23,000 pounds a ton. There was some of it again tried by Master Palmer, comptroller of the Mint, and Master Dimoke, in Goldsmith's-hall, and it held after the rate of 26,900 pounds a ton. There was also at the same time, and by the same persons, a trial made of the dust of the said mine, which held eight pounds six ounces weight of gold in the hundred; there was likewise, at the same time, a trial made of an image of copper, made in Guiana, which held a third part gold, beside divers trials made in the country, and by others in London. But because there came of ill with the good, and belike the said alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him

therefore

therefore to scandal all the rest, and to deface the enterprise as much as in him lieth. It hath also been concluded by divers, that if there had been any such ore in Guiana, and the same discovered, that I would have brought home a greater quantity thereof. First, I was not bound to satisfy any man of the quantity, but such only as adventured, if any store had been returned thereof; but it is very true, that had all their mountains been of massy gold, it was impossible for us to have made any longer stay to have wrought the same: and whosoever hath seen with what strength of stone the best gold ore is environed, he will not think it easy to be had out in heaps, and especially by us, who had neither men, instruments, nor time (as it is said before) to perform the same. There were on this discovery no less than one hundred persons, who can all witness, that when we passed any branch of the river to view the land within, and staid from our boats but six hours, we were driven to wade to the eyes at our return; and if we attempted the same the day following, it was impossible either to ford it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftness, and also, for that the borders were so pestered with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place, either to land or to embark; for in June, July, August, and September, it is impossible to navigate any of those rivers, for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods overflown, as if any boat but touch upon any tree or stake, it is impossible to save any one person therein: and ere we departed the land, it ran with that swiftness, as we drove down, most commonly against the wind, little less than one hundred miles a-day. Beside, our vessels were no other than wherries, one little barge, a small cock-boat, and a bad galliota, which we framed in haste for that purpose at Trinedado, and those little boats had nine or ten men a-piece, with all their victuals and arms. It is farther true, that we were about four hundred miles from our ships, and had been a month from them, which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our return in fifteen days. Others have devised that the same ore was had from Barbary, and that we carried it with us into Guiana: surely the singularity of that device, I do not well comprehend; for

mine

mine own part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages, as to devise thereby to cozen myself, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subjected to perils, to diseases, to ill savours, to be parched and withered, and withal to sustain the care and labour of such an enterprise, except the same had more comfort than the fetching of marcasite in Guiana, or buying of gold ore in Barbary.

But I hope the better sort will judge me by themselves, and that the way of deceit is not the way of honour, or good opinion: I have herein consumed much time, and many crowns, and I had no other respect or desire than to serve Her Majesty and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had been of like belief to these detractors, we should little have feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we are now daily threatened. But if we now consider of the actions both of Charles V. who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa, together with the affairs of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath endangered, how many armies, garrisons, and navies he hath and doth maintain, the great losses which he hath repaired, as in 1588 above one hundred sail of great ships, with their artillery, and that no year is less unfortunate, but that many vessels, treasures, and people are devoured; and yet, notwithstanding, he beginneth again, like a storm, to threaten shipwreck to us all; we shall find that these abilities rise not from the trades of sacks and Sevil oranges, nor from aught else that either Spain, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: it is his Indian gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into councils, and setteth bound loyalty at liberty in the greatest monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keep us from foreign enterprises, and from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion, or by besieging us in Britain, Ireland, or elsewhere, he hath then brought the work of our peril in great forwardness. Those princes which abound in treasure have great advantages over the rest, if they once constrain them

them to a defensive war, where they are driven once a year, or oftener, to cast lots for their own garments, and from such shall all trades and intercourse be taken away, to the general loss and impoverishment of the kingdom, and commonweal so reduced. Beside, when men are constrained to fight, it hath not the same hope as when they are pressed, and encouraged by the desire of spoil and riches. Farther, it is to be doubted, how those that in time of victory seem to affect their neighbouring nations will remain after the first view of misfortunes, or ill success; to trust also to the doubtfulness of a battle, is but a fearful and uncertain adventure, seeing therein fortune is as likely to prevail as virtue. It shall not be necessary to alledge all that might be said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoever kingdom shall be forced to defend itself, may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for a season may be preserved with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the ground, and be dissolved. I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power and persuasion, to advance all those attempts, that might either promise return of profit to ourselves, or at least be a let or impeachment to the quiet course and plentiful trades of the Spanish nation, who, in my weak judgment, by such a war were as easily endangered and brought from his powerfulness, as any prince in Europe, if it be considered from how many kingdoms and nations his revenues are gathered, and those so weak in their own beings, and so far severed from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in haste, and that the time which our enemies embrace cannot be had again to advantage, I will hope that these provinces, and that empire now by me discovered, shall suffice to enable Her Majesty, and the whole kingdom, with no less quantities of treasure than the king of Spain hath in all the Indies, East and West, which he possesseth; which if the same be considered, and followed, ere the Spaniards reinforce the same, and if Her Majesty will undertake it, I will be contented to lose Her Highness' favour and good opinion for ever, and my life withal, if the same be not found rather to exceed, than to equal whatsoever is in this discourse promised or declared. I will now refer

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the reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labours and endeavours of such as thereby seek the profit and honour of Her Majesty and the English nation, shall, by men of quality and virtue, receive such construction, and good acceptance, as themselves would look to be rewarded withal in the like.

W. R."

The Discovery of Guiana.

1st Guiana voyage. 1595.

"On Thursday the sixth of February, in the year 1595, we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the North Cape of Spain, the wind for the most part continuing prosperous: we passed in sight of the Burlings and the rock, and so onward for the Canaries, and fell in with Fuerte Ventura the seventeenth of the same month, where we spent two or three days, and relieved our companies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the Gran Canaria, and so to Teneriffe, and stayed there for the Lion's Whelp, your Lordship's ship, and for Captain Amias Preston, and the rest; but when after seven or eight days we found them not, we departed and directed our course for Trinedado with mine own ship, and a small bark of Captain Cross' only, (for we had before lost sight of a small gallego on the coast of Spain, which came with us from Plymouth). We arrived at Trinedado the twenty-second of March, casting anchor at Point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call Punto de Gallo, which is situate in eight degrees, or thereabout: we abode there four or five days, and in all that time we came not to the speech of any Indian or Spaniard. On the coast we saw a fire as we sailed from the point Carao toward Curiapan, but for fear of the Spaniards none durst come to speak with us. I myself coasted it in my barge close aboard the shore, and landed in every cove the better to know the island, while the ships kept the channel. From Curiapan, after a few days, we turned up north-east to recover that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Hispanioles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia, and as before (re-victualling my

my barge) I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speech with some of the inhabitants, and also to understand the rivers, watering-places, and ports of the island, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send Your Lordship after a few days. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh-water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea. In the way between both were divers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt river that had store of oysters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted: all their oysters grow upon those boughs and sprays, and not on the ground; the like is commonly seen in the West Indies, and elsewhere. This tree is described by Andrew Thevet in his French Antartic, and the form figured in his book as a plant very strange, and by Pliny in his twelfth book of his Natural History; but in this island, as also in Guiana, there are very many of them.

At this point called Tierra de Brea or Piche, there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith laden from thence, and we made trial of it in trimming our ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sun as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for ships trading to the south parts very profitable. From thence we went to the mountain-foot called Annaperima, and so passing the river Carone, on which the Spanish city was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, or Conquerabia.

This island of Trinedado hath the form of a sheep-hook, and is but narrow, the north part is very mountainous, the soil is very excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yield. It hath store of deer, wild porks, fruits, fish, and fowl. It hath also for bread sufficient mais, cassavi, and of those roots and fruits which are common everywhere in the West Indies. It hath divers beasts which the Indies have not. The Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the rivers, but they having a purpose to enter Guiana (the magazine of all rich

metals) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any farther. This island is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are divers nations; those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punto Carao are of the Arwacas, and between Carao and Curiapan they are called Salvaios, between Carao and Punto Galera are the Nepoios, and those about the Spanish city term themselves Carinepagotos. Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and rivers, I leave to speak here, being impertinent to my purpose, and mean to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the island, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, we found at the landing-place a company of Spaniards, who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a sign of peace, I sent Captain Whiddon to speak with them, whom afterward, to my great grief, I left buried in the said island after my return from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into terms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength than for aught else, and in the end, upon pledge, some of them came aboard: the same evening there stole aboard us in a small canoe, two Indians, the one of them being a Cassiqui, or lord of people called Cantyman, who had the year before been with Captain Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman we understood what strength the Spaniards had, how far it was to their city, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the governor, who was said to be slain in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not.

While we remained at Puerto de los Hispanioles some Spaniards came aboard us to buy linen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which I entertained kindly, and feasted after our manner; by means whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew, for those poor soldiers having been many years without wine, a few draughts made them merry, in which mood they vaunted of Guiana, and of the riches thereof, and all

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what they knew of the ways and passages, myself seeming to purpose nothing less than the entrance or discovery thereof; but bred in them an opinion that I was bound only for the relief of those English which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruit was come among them, which I had performed in my return, if extremity of weather had not forced me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes; the one was to be revenged of Berreo, who the year before betrayed eight of Captain Whiddon's men, and took them while he departed from them to seek the E. Bonaventure, which arrived at Trinedado the day before from the East Indies; in whose absence Berreo sent a canoe aboard the pinnace, only with Indians and dogs, inviting the company to go with them into the woods to kill a deer, who, like wise men in the absence of their captain, followed the Indians; but were no sooner one harquebus-shot from the shore, but Berreo's soldiers lying in ambush had them all, notwithstanding that he had given his word to Captain Whiddon, that they should take water and wood safely; the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the Spaniards, I daily learned more and more of Guiana, of the rivers and passages, and of the enterprise of Berreo, by what means or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While we thus spent the time, I was assured by another Cassiqui of the north side of the island, that Berreo had sent to Marguerita, and to Cumana for soldiers, meaning to have given me a Cassado at parting, if it had been possible: for although he had given order through all the island, that no Indian should come aboard to trade with me upon pain of hanging or quartering, (having executed two of them for the same, which I afterward found,) yet every night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty; how he had divided the island, and given to every soldier a part, that he made the antient Cassiqui, which were lords of the country, to be their slaves, that he kept them in chains, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterward to be true; for in the city, after I entered the same, there

were five of the lords or little kings (which they call Cassiqui in the West Indies) in one chain, almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments; these are called in their own language Acarewana, and now of late, since English, French, and Spanish are come among them, they call themselves *capitains*, because they perceive that the chiefest of every ship is called by that name. Those five capitains in the chain were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be revenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart four or five hundred miles from my ships, and to leave a garrison in my back interested in the same enterprise, who also daily expected supplies out of Spain, I should have savoured very much of the ass; and, therefore, taking a time of most advantage, I set upon the corp du guard in the evening, and having put them to the sword, sent Captain Calfield onward with sixty soldiers, and myself followed with forty more, and so took their new city, which they called S. Joseph, by break of day: they abode not any fight after a few shot, and all being dismissed but only Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the instance of the Indians I set their new city of S. Joseph on fire.

The same day arrived Captain George Gifford with your Lordship's ship, and Captain Keymis, whom I lost on the coast of Spain, with the gallego, and in them divers gentlemen and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

We then hastened away toward our purposed discovery; and first I called all the captains of the island together that were enemies to the Spaniards, for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countries, and planted there to eat out and waste those that were natural of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I carried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a queen, who was the great Cassiqui of the north, and a virgin, and had more Cassiqui under her than there were trees in their island; that she was an enemy to the Castellans, in respect of their tyranny and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about

about her as were by them oppressed; and having freed all the coast of the northern world from their servitude, had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the country of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. I shewed them Her Majesty's picture, which they so admired and honoured, as it had been easy to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like, and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations, both in my passing to Guiana, and to those of the borders; so as in that part of the world Her Majesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princess, or greatest commander. This done, we left Puerto de los Hispanioles, and returned to Curiapan; and having Berreo my prisoner, I gathered from him as much of Guina as he knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman well descended, and had long served the Spanish king in Milan, Naples, the Low-countries, and elsewhere, very valiant and liberal, and a gentleman of great assuredness, and of a great heart. I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small means I had.

I sent Captain Whiddon the year before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my journey, at this time, was to discover and enter the same; but my intelligence was far from truth, for the country is situate above six hundred English miles farther from the sea than I was made believe it had been, which, afterward understanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would never have been brought to attempt the same; of which six hundred miles I passed four hundred, leaving my ships so far from me at anchor in the sea, which was more of desire to perform that discovery than of reason, especially having such poor and weak vessels to transport ourselves in; for in the bottom of an old gallego, which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship-boat of the Lion's Whelp, we carried one hundred persons and their victuals for a month in the same, being all driven to lie in the rain

and

and weather in the open air, in the burning sun, and upon the hard boards, and to dress our meat, and to carry all manner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and unsavory, that what with victuals, being most fish, with the wet cloaths of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the sun, I will undertake there was never any prison in England that could be found more unsavory and loathsome, especially to myself, who had for many years before been dieted and cared for in sort far differing.

If Captain Preston had not been persuaded that he should have come too late to Trinedado to have found us there, (for the month was expired which I promised to tarry for him there, ere he could recover the coast of Spain) but that it had pleased God he might have joined with us, and that we had entered the country but some ten days sooner ere the rivers were overflown, we had adventured either to have gone to the great city of Manoa, or at least taken so many of the other cities and towns nearer at hand, as would have made a royal return; but it pleased not God so much to favour me at this time. If it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein; and if any else shall be enabled thereunto, and conquer the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perform more than ever was done in Mexico by Cortes, or in Peru by Pacaro, whereof the one conquered the empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guascar and Atabalipa, and whatsoever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be lord of more gold, and of a more beautiful empire, and of more cities and people, than either the king of Spain, or the Great Turk.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the emperor now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches, Pedro de Cieza, Francisco Lopez, and others, have written large discourses; for when Francisco Pacaro, Diego Almagro, and others, conquered the said empire

of

of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa, son to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to be slain, one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and took with him many thousands of those soldiers of the empire called Orejones, and with those, and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate between the great rivers of Amazones and Baraquan, otherwise called Oroonoko and Maranion.

The empire of Guiana is directly east from Peru toward the sea, and lieth under the equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of gold than any part of Peru, and as many, or more great cities than ever Peru had when it flourished most. It is governed by the same laws, and the emperor and people observe the same religion, and the same form and policies in government as was used in Peru, not differing in any part; and as I have been assured by such of the Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, which the Spaniards call el Dorado, that for the greatness, the riches, and for the excellent seat, it far exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation. It is founded upon a lake of salt water of two hundred leagues long, like unto Mare Caspium; and if we compare it to that of Peru, and but read the report of Francisco Lopez, and others, it will seem more than credible; and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120th chapter of Lopez, in his general history of the Indies, wherein he describeth the court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestor to the emperor of Guiana, whose very words are these. *Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina era de ora, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huetas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamano de quantos animales, aves, arboles, y yervas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciessen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin, no avia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuviesse de oro contrahecha; y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel*

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en una isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yvan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, yarboles de oro y plata, invencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissimia cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Espanioles se lo tomauan, y embiauan a Espania. That is, all the vessels of his house, table, and kitchen, were of gold and silver, and the meanest of silver and copper, for strength and hardness of the metal. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bigness of all the beasts, birds, trees, and herbs, that the earth bringeth forth; and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdom breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chests and troughs of gold and silver, heaps of billets of gold that seemed wood marked out to burn. Finally, there was nothing in his country wherof he had not the counterfeit in gold. Yea, and they say, the Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an island near Puna, where they went to recreate themselves when they would take the air of the sea, which had all kind of garden herbs, flowers and trees, of gold and silver, an invention, and magnificence till then never seen. Beside all this, he had an infinite quantity of silver and gold unwrought in Cuzco, which was lost by the death of Guascar; for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards took it and sent it into Spain.

And in the 117th chapter, Francisco Picaro caused the gold and silver of Atabalipa to be weighed, after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth down in these words following:

Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro. Which is, they found fifty-two thousand marks of good silver, and one million three hundred twenty and six thousand and five hundred pesoes of gold.

Now although these reports may seem strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are daily brought out of Peru into Spain, we may easily believe the same; for we find that by the abundant treasure of that country, the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become in a few years, from a poor king of Castile, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase

crease, if other princes foreslow the good occasion offered, and suffer him to add this empire to the rest, which by far exceedeth all the rest. If his gold now endanger us, he will then be unresistable. Such of the Spaniards as afterward endeavoured the conquest thereof (whereof there have been many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperor now living is descended) took his way by the river of Amazones, by that branch which is called Papamene, for by that way followed Oreliano, (by the commandment of the marquis Pacarro, in the year 1542) whose name the river also beareth this day, which is also by others called Maragnon, although Andrew Thevet doth affirm, that between Maragnon and Amazones, there are one hundred and twenty leagues; but sure it is, that those rivers have one head and beginning, and that Maragnon, which Thevet describeth, is but a branch of Amazones, or Oreliano, of which I will speak more in another place. It was also attempted by Diego Ordace, but whether before Oreliano, or after, I know not; but it is now little less than seventy years since that Ordace, a knight of the order of Saint Jago, attempted the same, and it was in the year 1542, that Oreliano discovered the river of Amazones; but the first that ever saw Manoa was Johannes Martines, master of the munition to Ordace. At a port called Morequito in Guiana, there lieth at this day a great anchor of Ordace's ship; and this port is some three hundred miles within the land, upon the great river of Oroonoko.

I rested at this port four days, twenty days after I left the ships at Curiapan. The relation of this Martines (who was the first that discovered Manoa) his success, and end, is to be seen in the chauncery of Saint Juan de Puerto Rico, whereof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest encouragement, as well to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. Oreliano, after he failed of the discovery of Guiana by the said river of Amazones, passed into Spain, and there obtained a patent of the king for the invasion and conquest, but died by sea about the islands, and his fleet being severed by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordace followed the enterprise, and departed Spain with six

hundred soldiers, and thirty horse, who, arriving on the coast of Guiana, was slain in a mutiny, with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious part; insomuch, as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certainly known what became of the said Ordace, until Berreo found the anchor of his ship in the river of Oroonoko; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diversly conceived and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entered so far within the land, and arrived at that city of Inga the emperor; for it chanced that while Ordace with his army rested at the port of Morequito (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana) by some negligence, the whole store of powder provided for the service was set on fire, and Martines having the chief charge was condemned by the general Ordace to be executed forthwith. Martines being much favoured by the soldiers, had all the means possible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in other sort than this: that he should be set into a canoe alone, without any victuals, only with his arms, and so turned loose into the great river. But it pleased God that the canoe was carried down the stream, and that certain of the Guianians met it the same evening, and having not at any time seen any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they carried Martines into the land to be wondered at, and so from town to town until he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inga the emperor. The emperor, after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren Guascar and Atabalipa, were vanquished by the Spaniards in Peru) and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well entertained. He lived seven months in Manoa, but not suffered to wander into the country any where; he was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, until he came to the entrance of Manoa itself, and was fourteen or fifteen days in the passage. He avowed at his death, that he entered the city at noon, and then they uncovered his face, and that he travelled all that day till night, through the city, and the next day, from sun-rising to sun-setting, ere he came to the palace of Inga.

After

After that Martines had lived seven months in Manoa, and began to understand the language of the country, Inga asked him whether he desired to return into his own country, or would willingly abide with him; but Martines, not desirous to stay, obtained the favour of Inga to depart, with whom he sent divers Guianians to conduct him to the river of Oroonoko, all loaden with as much gold as they could carry, which he gave to Martines at his departure; but when he was arrived near the river's side, the borderers, which are called Oroonokoponi, robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at war with Inga, and not conquered) save only of two great bottles of gourds, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought, which those Oroonokoponi thought had been no other thing than his drink, or meat, or grain for food, with which Martines had liberty to pass; and so in canoes he fell down by the river of Oroonoko to Trinedado, and from thence to Marguerita, and so to Saint Juan de Puerto Rico, where, remaining a long time for a passage into Spain, he died. In the time of his extreme sickness, and when he was without hope of life, receiving the sacrament at the hands of his confessor, he delivered these things, with the relation of his travels, and also called for his calabaza, or gourds of the gold beads, which he gave to the church and friars to be prayed for. This Martines was he that christened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and as Berreo informed me, upon this occasion. Those Guianians and also the borderers, and all others in that tract which I have seen, are marvellous great drunkards, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them; and at the times of their solemn feasts when the emperor carouseth with his captains, tributaries, and governors, the manner is thus. All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white balsam, by them called Curcai, of which there is great plenty, and yet very dear among them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof we have had good experience. When they are anointed all over, certain servants of the emperor having prepared gold made into fine powder blow it through hollow canes upon their naked bodies,

until they be all shining from the foot to the head; and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue in drunkenness sometimes six or seven days together: the same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spain, which was intercepted, which master Robert Dudley told me he had seen. Upon this sight, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the city, the images of gold in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold which they use in the wars, he called it El Dorado.

After Oreliano, who was employed by Pacaro, afterward marquis Pacaro, conqueror and governor of Peru, and the death of Ordace and Martines, one Pedro de Osua, a knight of Navarre, attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigantines upon a river called Oia, which riseth to the southward of Quito, and is very great: this river falleth into Amazones, by which Osua with his companies descended, and came out of that province which is called Mutylones: and it seemeth to me, that this empire is reserved for Her Majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard success which all these and other Spaniards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speak briefly, though impertinent, in some sort, to my purpose. This Pedro de Osua had among his troops a Biscayan, called Agiri, a man meanly born, and bare no other office than a serjeant, or alferez; but after certain months, when the soldiers were grieved with travails, and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazones, this Agiri raised a mutiny, of which he made himself the head, and so prevailed, as he put Osua to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandment, with a purpose not only to make himself emperor of Guiana, but also of Peru, and of all that side of the West-Indies. He had of his party seven hundred soldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captains and companies to deliver up towns and forts in Peru; but neither finding by the said river any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to return toward Peru by the same Amazones, by reason that the descent of the river made so great a current, he was enforced to disembogue at the mouth of the said Amazones,

which

which cannot be less than a thousand leagues from the place where they embarked: from thence he coasted the land till he arrived at Murguerita, to the north of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Juan de Villa Andreda, governor of Marguerita, who was father to Don Juan Sermiento, governor of Murguerita when Sir John Burgh landed there, and attempted the island. Agiri put to the sword all others in the island that refused to be of his party, and took with him certain Ceremones, and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew the governor, and dealt in all as at Marguerita; he spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the province of Vensuello, and of Rio de Hache; and, as I remember, it was the same year that Sir John Hawkins sailed to Saint Juan de Lua, in the Jesus of Lubec; for himself told me, that he met with such a one upon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed down all the river of Amazones. Agiri, from hence, landed about Sancta Marta, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to invade Nuevo Reygno de Granado, and to sack Pampelone, Merida, Lagrita, Tuvia, and the rest of the cities of Nuevo Reygno, and from thence again to enter Peru; but in a fight in the said Nuevo Reygno, he was overthrown, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his own children, foretelling them, that they should not live to be defamed, or upbraided by the Spaniards after his death, who would have termed them the children of a traitor or tyrant, and that since he could not make them princes, he would yet deliver them from shame and reproach. These were the ends and tragedies of Oreliano, Ordace, Osua, Martines, and Agiri.

After these followed Jeronimo Ortal de Saragosa with one hundred and thirty soldiers, who failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, and peopled about St. Miguel de Neueri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Sylva, a Portuguese of the family of Rigomes de Sylva, and by the favour which Rigomes had with the king, he was set out; but he also shot wide of the mark; for being departed from Spain with his fleet, he entered by Maragnon

Maragnon or Amazones, where, by the nations of the river, and by the Amazones, he was utterly overthrown, and himself and all his army defeated, only seven escaped, and of those but two returned.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumana in the West Indies, taking his journey by land toward Oroonoko, which may be some hundred and twenty leagues; but ere he came to the borders of the said river, he was set upon by a nation of Indians called Wikiri, and overthrown in such sort, that of three hundred soldiers, horsemen, many Indians and negroes, there returned but eighteen: others affirm that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first civil town of the empire, called Macureguarai. Captain Preston in taking St. Jago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great town, and far within the land) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and saved among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spaniards thereabout of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the city of Inga. Another Spaniard was brought aboard me by Captain Preston, who told me, in the hearing of himself and divers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreo's camp-master at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of gold curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlaid with gold, feathers garnished with gold, and divers rarities which he carried to the Spanish king.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was undertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Cemenes de Casada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nuevo Reygno, whose daughter and heir Don Antotonio de Berreo married. Gonzales sought the passage also by the river called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, and runneth south-east one hundred leagues, and then falleth into Amazones, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the loss of much labour and cost: I took one Captain George, a Spaniard, that followed Gonzales in this enterprise. Gonzales gave his daughter to Berreo, taking his

his oath and honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since, as he hath sworn to me, hath spent three hundred thousand ducats in the same, and yet never could enter so far into the land as myself, with that poor troop, or rather a handful of men, being in all about one hundred, gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boys, and of all sorts; neither could any of the fore-passed undertakers, nor Berreo himself, discover the country, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof; for Berreo came above fifteen hundred miles ere he understood aught, or could find any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of all these fore-named, and divers others, and was persuaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the river Cassanar, which falleth into a great river called Pato, Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Oroonoko.

He took his journey from Nuevo Reyno de Granada, where he dwelt, having the inheritance of Gonzales Cemenes in those parts; he was followed with seven hundred horse, he drove with him a thousand head of cattle, he had also many women, Indians, and slaves. How all these rivers cross and encounter, how the country lieth and is bordered, the passage of Cemenes, and of Berreo, mine own discovery, and the way that I entered, with all the rest of the nations and rivers, Your Lordship shall receive in a large chart, or map, which I have not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray Your Lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to pass your own hands; for by a draught thereof all may be prevented by other nations; for I know it is this very year sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I fear it not much. It was also told me, ere I departed England, that Villiers the admiral was in preparation for the planting of Amazones, to which river the French have made divers voyages, and returned much gold and other rarities. I spake with a captain of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth, the same year that my ships came first from Virginia.

There

There was another this year in Helford that also came from thence, and had been fourteen months at an anchor in Amazones, which were both very rich. Although, as I am persuaded, Guiana cannot be entered that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river of Amazones, and so it doth on every hand far from the country itself; for those Indians of Trinedado have plates of gold from Guiana, and those canibals of Dominica which dwell in the islands by which our ships pass yearly to the West-Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting near about the mountains that run from Paria through the province of Vensuello, and in Maracapana, and the canibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) have plates of gold of Guiana. And upon the river of Amazones, Thevet writeth, that the people wear croissants of gold, for of that form the Guianians most commonly make them: so as from Dominica to Amazones, which is above two hundred and fifty leagues, all the chief Indians in all parts wear of those plates of Guiana. Undoubtedly those that trade with the Amazones return much gold, which (as is aforesaid) cometh by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a river that falleth from the country into Amazones; and either it is by the river which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Curepuna. I made enquiry among the most ancient and best travelled of the Oronoqueponi, and I had knowlege of all the rivers between Oroonoko and Amazones, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is believed, of others not: and though I digress from my purpose, yet I will set down what hath been delivered me for truth of those women, and I spake with a casique, or lord of the people that told me he had been in the river, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the south side of the river in the provinces of Topago, and their chiefest strengths and retreats are in the islands situate on the south side of the entrance, some sixty leagues within the mouth of the said river. The

memories

memories of the like women are very ancient as well in Africa as in Asia; in Africa those that had Medusa for queen; others in Scythia, near the rivers of Tanais and Thermadon. We find also that Lampedo and Marthesia were queens of the Amazons. In many histories they are verified to have been, and in divers ages and provinces. But they which are not far from Guiana do accompany with men but once in a year, and for the time of one month, which I gather, by their relation, to be in April. At that time all the kings of the borders assemble, and the queens of the Amazons; and after the queens have chosen, the rest cast lots for their valentines. This one month they feast, dance, and drink of their wines in abundance, and the moon being down they all depart to their own provinces. If they conceive, and be delivered of a son, they return him to the father; if of a daughter, they nourish it and retain it, and as many as have daughters send unto the begetters a present, all being desirous to increase their own sex and kind; but that they cut off the right dug of the breast I do not find to be true. It was farther told me, that if in the wars they took any prisoners, that they used to accompany with those also at what time soever, but in the end for certain they put them to death; for they are said to be very cruel and blood-thirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These Amazons have likewise great store of these plates of gold, which they recover by exchange, chiefly for a kind of green stones which the Spaniards call piedras hijadas, and we use for spleen-stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteem them; of these I saw divers in Guiana, and commonly every king or casique hath one, which their wives for the most part wear, and they esteem them as great jewels.

But to return to the enterprize of Berreo, who (as I have said) departed from Nuevo Reyno with 700 horse, beside the provisions above rehearsed. He descended by the river Cassanar, which riseth in Nuevo Reyno out of the mountains by the city of Tuvia, from which mountain also springeth Pato, both which fall into the great river of Meta, and Meta riseth from a mountain joining to Pampe-

lone in the same Nuevo Reyno de Granada: these, as also Guaire, which issueth out of the mountains by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads, for at their coming together they lose their names, and Baraquan farther down is also rebaptized by the name of Oroonoko. On the other side of the city and hills of Timana riseth Rio Grande, which falleth into the sea by Sancta Marta. By Cassonar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the country served them for to march, and where otherwise he was driven to embark them in boats which he built for the purpose, and so came with the current down the river of Meta, and so into Baraquan. After he entered that great and mighty river, he began daily to lose of his companies, both men and horse, for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and divers islands sharp-pointed with rocks. But after one whole year, journeying for the most part by river, and the rest by land, he grew daily to fewer numbers, for both by sickness and by encountering with the people of those regions through which he travelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by divers encounters with the Amapaiens; and in all this time he never could learn of any passage into Guiana, nor any news or fame thereof, until he came to the farther border of the said Amapaia, eight days journey from the river Caroli, which was the farthest river that we entered. Among those of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three months of the six which he sojourned there. This Amapaia is also marvellous rich in gold (as both Berreo confessed, and those of Guiana with whom I had most conference) and is situate upon Oroonoko also. In this country Berreo lost sixty of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained of his former year's travel; but in the end, after divers encounters with those nations they grew to peace, and they presented Berreo with ten images of fine gold, among divers other plates and croissants, which, as he swore to me and divers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seen the

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like either in Italy, Spain, or the Low-countries; and he was assured, that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his camp-master, they would appear very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no iron-instrument at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths have to work withal. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gave him these pieces are called Anebas, and the river of Oroonoko at that place is above twelve English miles broad, which may be from his out-fall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

This province of Amapaia is a very low and a marish ground near the river, and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches through the fenny and boggy ground, there bred divers poisonful worms and serpents; and the Spaniards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievous kind of flux by drinking thereof, and even the very horses were poisoned therewith; insomuch as at the end of the six months that they abode there, of all their troops there were not left above 120 soldiers, and neither horse nor cattle. For Berreo hoped to have found Guiana by 1000 miles nearer than it fell out to be in the end; by means whereof they sustained much want and much hunger, oppressed with grievous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had travelled Amapaia, how they lived with that tawny or red water when they travelled thither, and they told me, that after the sun was near the middle of the sky, they used to fill their pots and pitchers with that water; but either before that time, or toward the setting of the sun, it was dangerous to drink of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of divers other rivers of that nature among them, which were also (while the sun was in the meridian) very safe to drink, and in the morning, evening, and night, wonderfully dangerous, and infective. From this province Berreo hasted away as soon as the spring and beginning of summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Oroonoko on the south side, but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountains, as he was not able, by any

means to march over them, continuing from the east-sea, into which Oroonoko falleth, even to Quito in Peru: neither had he means to carry victuals or munition over those craggy, high, and vast hills, being all woody, and those so thick and spiny, and so full of prickles, thorns, and briers, as it is impossible to creep through them; he had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to persuade or treat with them; and more to his disadvantage, the casiqui and kings of Amapaia had given knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sack and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of gold. He passed by the mouths of many great rivers, which fell into Oroonoko both from the north and south, which I forbear to name for tediousness, and because they are more pleasing in describing than reading.

Berreo affirmed, that there fell an hundred rivers into Oroonoko from the north and south, whereof the least was as big as Rio Grande, that passeth between Popayan and Nuevo Reyno de Granada (Rio Grande being esteemed one of the most renowned rivers in all the West Indies, and numbered among the great rivers of the world); but he knew not the names of any of these but Caroli only, neither from what nations they descended, neither to what provinces they led, for he had no means to discourse with the inhabitants at any time; neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine own travel, and the rest by conference: of some one I learned one, of others the rest, having with me an Indian that spake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest travellers, and by the one and the other I came to understand the situations, the rivers, the kingdoms from the east-sea to the borders of Peru, and from Oroonoko southward as far as Amazones or Maragnon, and the regions of Maria Tamball, and of all the kings of provinces, and captains of towns and villages, how they stood in times of peace or war, and

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which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elsewhere; for by the dissention between Guascar and Atabalipa Paçaro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Traxcallians bore to Montezuma, Cortez was victorious over Mexico, without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprize, and of the great honour and riches which they attained unto.

Now Berreo began to grow into despair, and looked for no other success than his predecessors in this enterprise, until such time as he arrived at the province of Emeria toward the east-sea and mouth of the river, where he found a nation of people very favourable, and the country full of all manner of victuals. The king of this land is called Carapana; a man very wise, subtle, and of great experience, being little less than a hundred years old. In his youth he was sent by his father into the island of Trinedado, by reason of civil war among themselves, and was bred at a village in that island called Parico. At that place, in his youth, he had seen many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went divers times with the Indians of Trinedado to Marguerita and Cumana in the West Indies, (for both those places have ever been relieved with victual from Trinedado,) by reason whereof he grew of more understanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armies of his country with those of the Christians, and ever after temporized so, as whosoever else did amiss, or was wasted by contention, Carapana kept himself and his country in quiet and plenty. He also held peace with Çaribas or canibals his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations whosoever else had war.

Berreo sojourned and rested his weak troop in the town of Carapana six weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then utterly unable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another year, when he had renewed his provisions, and re-gathered more force, which he hoped for, as well out of Spain as from Nuevo Reyno, where he had left his son Don Anthonio Xemenes to second him

him upon the first notice given of his entrance; and so for the present embarked himself in canoes, and by the branches of Oroonoko arrived at Trinedado, having from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinedado he coasted Paria, and so recovered Marguerita; and having made relation to Don Juan Sermiento the governor of his proceeding, and persuaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obtained from thence fifty soldiers, promising presently to return to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing less at that time, for he wanted many provisions necessary for such an enterprise, and therefore departing from Marguerita seated himself in Trinedado, and from thence sent his camp-master and his serjeant-major back to the borders, to discover the nearest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and love, without which he knew he could neither pass safely, nor in any sort be relieved with victuals or aught else. Carapana directed this company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliver so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but five days journey from Macureguari, the first civil town of Guiana.

Now Your Lordship shall understand, that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three years before been at Cumana and at Marguerita in the West Indies, with great store of plates of gold, which he carried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his own country, and was daily feasted and presented by the governors of those places, and held among them some two months; in which time one Vides, governor of Cumana, won him to be his conductor into Guiana, being allured by those croissants and images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado. Whereupon Vides sent into Spain for a patent to discover and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreo's patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides; so as when Vides understood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and foregone his desire and hope,

hope, it was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturb Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter through his seignory, nor any of his companies neither to victual nor guide them in any sort; for Vides, governor of Cumana, and Berreo were become mortal enemies, as well for that Berreo had gotten Trinedado into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo prevented in the journey of Guiana itself. Howsoever it was I know not, but Morequito for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spaniards and a friar (which Berreo had sent to discover Manoa) to travel through his country, gave them a guide for Macureguarai the first town of civil and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa the great city of Inga; and being furnished with those things which they had learned of Carapana, were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleven days arrived at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certain: although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now governeth the province of Morequito, for he told me that they got all the gold they had in other towns on this side Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he said) built like the towns of Christians with many rooms.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Arromaia, the people of Morequito set upon them, and slew them all but one that swam the river, and took from them to the value of 40,000 pesoes of gold; and as it is written in the story of Job, one only lived to bring the news to Berreo, that both his nine soldiers and holy father were benighted in the said province. I myself spake with the captains of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo, enraged herewithal, sent all the strength he could make into Arromaia, to be revenged of him, his people, and country; but Morequito suspecting the same fled over Oroonoko, and through the territories of the Saima and Wikiri, recovered Cumana, where he thought himself very safe with Vides the governor. But Berreo sending for him in the king's name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one

Fashardo,

Fashardo, on the sudden ere it was suspected, so as he could not then be conveyed away, Vides durst not deny him, as well to avoid the suspicion of the practice, as also for that an holy father was slain by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in gold to let him escape, but the poor Guianian betrayed of all sides was delivered to the camp-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

After the death of this Morequito the soldiers of Berreo spoiled his territory, and took divers prisoners, among others they took the uncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Arromaia, (whose son I brought with me into England) and is a man of great understanding and policy; he is above an hundred years old, and yet of a very able body: the Spaniards led him in a chain seventeen days, and made him their guide from place to place between his country and Emeria, the province of Carapana aforesaid, and was at last redeemed for an hundred plates of gold, and divers stones called piedras hijadas, or spleen-stones. Now Berreo, for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, spoils, and slaughters done in Arromaia, hath lost the love of the Oroonokoponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his soldiers any farther into the land than to Carapana, which he calleth the port of Guiana; but from thence, by the help of Carapana, he had trade farther into the country, and always appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapana's town, by whose favour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the country thereabout as well for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

They have also gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they have christened and named Don Juan, of whom they have great hope, endeavouring by all means to establish him in the said province. Among many other trades, those Spaniards used in canoes to pass to the rivers of Barema, Pawroma, and Dissequebe, which are on the south-side of the mouth of Oroonoko, and there buy women and children from the canibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or four hatchets sell the sons and daughters

daughters of their own brethren and sisters, and, for somewhat more, even their own daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit; for, buying a maid of twelve or thirteen years for three or four hatchets, they sell them again at Marguerita in the West Indies for fifty and a hundred pesoes, which is so many crowns.

The master of my ship, John Douglas, took one of the canoes which came laden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped, yet of those he brought, there was one as well favoured, and as well shaped as ever I saw any in England; and afterward I saw many of them, which but for their tawny colour may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those rivers for bread of cassavi, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Marguerita for ten pesoes. They also recover great store of cotton, brasil-wood, and those beds which they call hamacas or brasil-beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards use to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we ourselves while we were there. By means of which trades, for ransom of divers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and knives, Berreo recovered some store of gold plates, eagles of gold, and images of men and divers birds, and dispatched his camp-master for Spain with all that he had gathered, therewith to levy soldiers, and by the shew thereof to draw others to the love of the enterprise: and having sent divers images, as well of men as beasts, birds, and fishes, so curiously wrought in gold, doubted not but to persuade the king to yield to him some farther help, especially for that this land hath never been sacked, the mines never wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the gold drawn out with great labour and charge. He also dispatched messengers to his son in Nuevo Reyno to levy all the forces he could, and to come down the river of Oroonoko to Emeria, the province of Carapana, to meet him; he had also sent to Sant Jago de Leon on the coast of the Caraccas to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see Guiana, and that it was the end

of my journey, and the cause of my coming to Trinedado, as it was indeed, (and for that purpose I sent Ja. Whiddon the year before to get intelligence, with whom Berreo himself had speech at that time, and remembered how inquisitive Ja. Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the country of Guiana). Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadness, and used all the arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost; and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first, he delivered that I could not enter any of the rivers with any bark or pinnace, nor hardly with any ship's-boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were daily grounded in their canoes which drew but twelve inches water. He farther said, that none of the country would come to speak with us, but would all fly, and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burn their own towns; and beside that, the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means carry victual for half the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders and of Guiana had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true; but yet, I resolving to make trial of all whatsoever happened, directed captain George Gifford my vice-admiral to take the Lion's-whelp, and captain Calfield his bark to turn to the eastward, against the breeze what they could possible, to recover the mouth of a river called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent captain Whiddon and John Douglas, the master, to discover, who found some nine foot water, or better, upon the flood, and five at low water, to whom I had given instructions that they should anchor at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over, which shoal John Douglas buoyed and beckoned for them before. But they laboured in vain, for neither could they

they turn it up altogether so far to the east, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell ere they could have passed the sands, as we afterward found by second experience. So as now we must either give over our enterprise, or leaving our ships at adventure 400 miles behind us, to run up in our ships-boats, one barge, and two wherries. But being doubtful how to carry victuals for so long a time in such baubles, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured us that his son must be by that time come down with many soldiers, I sent away one King, master of the Lion's-whelp with his ship's-boat to try another branch of a river in the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prove if there was water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thoroughly, because he was assured by an Indian his guide, that the canibals of Guanipa would assail them with many canoes, and that they shot poisoned arrows, so as if he hasted not back they should all be lost.

In the mean time fearing the worst, I caused all the carpenters we had to cut down a gallego-boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five foot, for so much we had on the bar of Capuri at low water: and doubting of King's return I sent John Douglas again in my long barge, as well to relieve him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottom of that bay. For it hath been held for infallible that whatsoever ship or boat shall fall therein, can never disembogue again, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the said bay, as also for that the breeze and easterly wind bloweth directly into the same, of which opinion I have heard John Hampton, of Plymouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and divers others beside that have traded to Trinedado.

I sent with John Douglas an old cassique of Trinedado for a pilot, who told us that we could not return again by the bay or gulf, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the eastward,

and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so return in four days. John Douglas searched those rivers, and found four goodly entrances, whereof the least was as big as the Thames at Woolwich: but in the bay thitherward it was shoal and but six foot water, so as we were now without hope of any ship or bark to pass over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottom of the gallego, in which we thrust sixty men. In the Lion's-whelp's boat and wherry we carried twenty, captain Calfield in his wherry carried ten more, and in my barge other ten, which made up a hundred: we had no other means but to carry victual for a month in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dress our meat. Captain Gifford had with him master Edward Porter, captain Eynos, and eight more in his wherry with all their victual, weapons, and provisions. Captain Calfield had with him my cousin Butshead Gorges and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers myself had Captain Thyn, my cousin John Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, captain Whiddon, captain Keymis, Edward Hancoke, captain Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Upton, captain Facy, Jerome Ferrar, Anthony Wells, William Connock, and about fifty more. We could not learn of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so far to the windward as it was impossible for us to recover. For we had as much sea to cross over in our wherries as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong, so as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers, which John Douglas had last discovered, and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the south of Oroonoko, between that and Amazones, whose canoes we had formerly taken as he was going from the said Barema laden with cassavi bread to sell at Marguerita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river of Oroonoko, but indeed of that which we entered he was utterly ignorant; for he had not seen it in twelve years before, at which time he was very young, and of no judgment; and if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers, ere we had found

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any way, either out or in, especially after we were past the ebbing and flowing which was in four days. For I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times and also fair and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the sun or compass, hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way we were also carried in a circle among multitudes of islands, and every island so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any farther than the breadth of the river, or length of the breach. But thus it chanced, that entering into a river, (which, because it had no name, we called the river of the Red-cross, ourselves being the first Christians that ever came therein) the 22d of May, as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small canoe with three Indians, which (by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars) I overtook ere they could cross the river. The rest of the people on the banks shadowed under the thick wood gazed on with a doubtful conceit what might befal those three which we had taken: but when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their canoe with any of ours, nor took out of the canoe any of theirs, they then began to show themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffic with us for such things as they had; and as we drew near they all staid, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek which came from their town into the great river.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot called Ferdinando would needs go ashore to their village to fetch some fruits, and to drink of their artificial wines, and also to see the place, and to know the lord of it against another time, and took with him a brother of his which he had with him in the journey. When they came to the village of these people, the lord of the island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slain them both, yielding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory to spoil and destroy them: but the pilot being quick and of a disposed body, slipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recovered the creek's mouth, where we

stayed

stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain; with that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot again, we would presently cut off his head. This old man being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando our pilot, but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with their deer-dogs, and with so main a cry that all the woods echoed with the shout they made; but at last this poor chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped down and swam to the barge half dead with fear. But our good hap was, that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted to redeem our pilot withal, for being natural of those rivers, we assured ourselves he knew the way better than any stranger could; and indeed, but for this chance I think we had never found the way either to Guiana, or back to our ships: for Ferdinando after a few days knew nothing at all, nor which way to turn, yea, and many times the old man himself was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands are generally called Tivitivas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

The great river of Oroonoko or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the north side of his own main mouth: on the south side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disembogueth itself by sixteen arms in all, between islands and broken ground; but the islands are very great, many of them as big as the Isle of Wight, and bigger, and many less. From the first branch on the north to the last of the south, it is at least an hundred leagues, so as the river's mouth is no less than three hundred miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of Amazones. All those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the several north branches are these Tivitivas, of which there are two chief lords which have continual wars one with the other. The islands which lie on the right hand are called Pallamos, and the land of the left Hororotomaka, and the river

river by which John Douglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

These Tivitivas are a very goodly people, and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground as in other places; in the winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West-Indies, that those people do in the low-lands near the gulph of Uraba: for between May and September the river of Oroonoko riseth thirty-foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty foot high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of any thing that is set or sown, and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of aught, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance: they have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl.

And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and forms, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I have either seen or read. Of these people, those that dwell upon the branches of Oroonoko called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoes, for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into Guiana for gold, and into Trinedado for tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations; and notwithstanding the moistness of the air in which they live, the hardness of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish, and fowl for their living, in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured people, or a more manly. They were wont to make war upon all nations, and especially on the canibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those rivers; but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy.

enemy. When their commanders die they use great lamentation, and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcase again, and hang it in the cassiqui's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas which dwell on the south of Oroonoko, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river our galley came on ground, and stuck so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left sixty of our men to have inhabited like rooks upon trees with those nations; but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro we got her afloat, and went on: at four days end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the Great Amana, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other. But soon after the flood of the sea left us, and were enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current, or to return as wise as we went out; we had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days work, and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the hour's end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of rivers, some falling from the west, others from the east into Amana, but those I leave to the description in the chart of discovery, where every one shall be named with his rising and descent. When three days more were overgone our companies began to despair, the weather being extreme hot, the river bordered with very high trees that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other; but we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an

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end the next day, and used it so long, as we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach. But so long we laboured, as many days were spent, and so driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drink at all; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat encreasing as we drew toward the line, for we were now in five degrees.

The farther we went on (our victual decreasing, and the air breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of strength and ability, for hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ship's boat of captain Gifford and captain Calfield, had spent all their provisions, so as we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the land where we should be relieved of all we wanted, and if we returned, that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals. We relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish; we saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange-tawny, purple, green, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixt, as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, beside the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling-pieces, without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I said before, we took to redeem Ferdinando,) told us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right-hand with our barge and wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the Arwacas where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine, and persuaded us, that departing

from the galley at noon we might return ere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barge with eight musketeers, captain Gifford's wherry with himself and four musketeers, and captain Calfield with his wherry and as many; and so we entered the mouth of this river; and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all: when we had rowed three hours we marvelled we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was, he told us a little farther; after three hours more, the sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from Trinedado, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were joined together in some village upon that river. But when it grew toward night, and we demanding where the place was, he told us but four reaches more; when we had rowed four and four we saw no sign, and our poor watermen even heart-broken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost; for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot, and if we had well known the way back again by night he had surely gone, but our necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety; for it was as dark as pitch, and the river began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage through those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight o'clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace; but whether it was best to return or go on we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more; but the poor old Indian ever assured us, that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one o'clock after midnight we saw a light, and rowing toward it, we heard the dogs of the village. When we landed we found few people, for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoes above 400 miles off, upon a journey toward the head of Oroonoko to trade for gold,

and

and to buy women of the Canibals, who afterward unfortunately passed by us as we rode at an anchor in the port of Morequito in the dark of night, and yet came so near us as his canoes grated against our barges; he left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night, and in the morning after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned toward our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river, we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose; and still as we rowed the deer came down feeding by the water's side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts; we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness, but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the River of Lagartos in their language. I had a negro a very proper young fellow, that leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of the river, was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those lagartos. In the meanwhile our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost, (for we promised to return before night) and sent the Lion's-whelps' ship's boat with captain Whiddon to follow us up the river; but the next day after we had rowed up and down some fourscore miles we returned, and went on our way up the great river, and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, captain Gifford being before the galley, and the rest of the boats seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four canoes coming down

the river, and with no small joy caused his men to try the uttermost of their strengths, and after awhile two of the four gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creek we knew not whither. Those canoes that were taken were loaden with bread, and were bound for Marguerita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to carry thither for exchange; but in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their governor in Trinedado, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoes: one of them was a cavallero, as the captain of the Arwacas afterward told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the mean time nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us next unto gold, than the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoes, for now our men cried, let us go on, we care not how far. After that captain Gifford had brought the two canoes to the galley I took my barge, and went to the bank's-side with a dozen shot, where the canoes first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out captain Gifford and captain Thyn on one hand, and captain Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods; and as I was creeping through the bushes I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiner's basket, for I found in it his quicksilver, saltpeter, and divers things for the trial of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined; but in those canoes which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to what soldier soever could take one of those three Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vain in that behalf, for they put themselves into one of the small canoes; and so while the greater canoes were in taking they escaped. But seeking after the Spaniards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their canoes; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and

carried

carried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countries the Spaniards had laboured for gold, though I made not the same known to all. For when the springs began to break, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no means we could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the white spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a work, I thought it best not to hover thereabout, lest if the same had been perceived by the company, there would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots, so as both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost, by those that only respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity, (which I hear hath been often objected) whosoever had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to arise, and had been a month and odd days, as we were from hearing aught from our ships, leaving them meanly manned above four hundred miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold, or rich stones. And to say the truth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into Oroonoko were raised with such speed, as if we waded them over the shoes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day; and to stay to dig out gold with our nails, had been *opus laboris*, but not *ingenii*. Such a quantity as would have served our turns we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disadvantage we had made, and that could have been the best profit of farther search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste; and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.

This Arwacan pilot with the rest feared that we would have eaten

eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death; for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage toward Guiana, or in Guiana itself, might come to speech with us, persuaded all the nations that we were men-eaters and canibals; but when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) took from them both their wives and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their own lusts, especially such as they took in this manner by strength. But I protest before the majesty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very young and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceit stark naked.

Nothing got us more love among them than this usage, for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a pina, or a potatoe-root, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters; which course, so contrary to the Spaniards, (who tyrannise over them in all things) drew them to admire Her Majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. But I confess it was a very impatient work to keep the meaner sort from spoil and stealing, when we came to their houses, which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed, to know of the loss or wrong done; and if aught were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at Trinedado, for they were before resolved that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence; and they wondered more when I had made

made them know of the great overthrow, that Her Majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of roots, which were excellent meat, I gave one of the canoes to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped; and when I had dismissed all but the captain (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent back in the same canoe the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victual to carry them back; and by them wrote a letter to the ships which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on with my new-hired pilot Martin, the Arwacan. But the next or second day after we came aground again with our galley, and were like to cast her away with all our victual and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night, and were far more in despair at this time to free her than before, because we had no tide of flood to help us; and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps. But we fastened an anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off; and so the fifteenth day we discovered afar off the mountains of Guiana to our great joy, and toward the evening had a slant of a northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river of Oroonoko, out of which the river descended wherein we were. We descried afar off three other canoes as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries; but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entered up the great river on the right-hand to the westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward toward the province of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keep, not daring to go upward to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies; and those in the canoes thought us to have been those Spaniards that were fled from Trinedado, and had escaped killing. And when we came so far down as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being near them with our barge and wherries we made after them, and ere they could

could land came within call, and by our interpreter told them what we were; wherewith they came back willingly aboard us: and of such fish and tortoises' eggs as they had gathered they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could.

That night we came to an anchor at the parting of three goodly rivers (the one was the river of Amana, by which we came from the north, and ran athwart toward the south, the other two were of Oroonoko, which crossed from the west, and ran to sea toward the east) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of tortoises' eggs, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring; so as our men were now well filled, and highly contented both with the fare, and nearness of the land of Guiana, which appeared in sight. In the morning there came down, according to promise, the lord of that border called Toparimaca with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could; at least he drank good Spanish wine, (whereof we had a small quantity in bottles) which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and half to his town, where some of our captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs and fruits digested and purged; they keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons, very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world. When we came to this town we found two Cassiques, whereof one of them was a stranger that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people, and wife encamped at the port where we anchored, and the other was of that country, a follower of Toparimaca; they lay each of them in a cotton hammock, which we call brasil-beds, and two women attending them with six cups and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they drank each of them

them three of those cups at a time, one to the other; and in this sort they drink drunk at their feasts and meetings.

That cassique that was a stranger, had his wife staying at the port where we anchored, and in all my life I have seldom seen a better favoured woman; she was of good stature, with black eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her hair almost as long as herself, tied up again in pretty knots, and it seemed she stood not in that awe of her husband as the rest; for she spake and discoursed, and drank among the gentlemen and captains, and was very pleasant, knowing her own comeliness, and taking great pride therein. I have seen a lady in England so like her, as but for the difference of colour I would have sworn might have been the same.

The seat of this town of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens, a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called Arowocai; the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The lord of this place gave me an old man for pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew their river most perfectly both by day and night; and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to have such a pilot, for it is four, five, and six miles over in many places, and twenty miles in other places, with wonderful eddies, and strong currents, many great islands and divers shoals, and many dangerous rocks; and beside upon any increase of wind so great a billow, as we were sometimes in great peril of drowning in the galley, for the small boats durst not come from the shore but when it was very fair.

The next day we hasted thence, and having an easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for, after we entered Oroonoko, the river lieth for the most part east and west, even from the sea unto Quito in Peru. This river is navigable with ships little less than one thousand miles, and from the place where we entered

it may be sailed up in small pinnaces to many of the best parts of Nuevo Reyno de Granado, and of Popayan. And from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as from hence. All that day we sailed up a branch of that river, having on the left hand a great island, which they call Assapana, which may contain some five and twenty miles in length, and six miles in breadth, the great body of the river running on the other side of this island. Beyond that middle branch, there is also another island in the river, called Iwana, which is twice as big as the Isle of Wight; and beyond it, and between it and the main of Guiana, runneth a third branch of Oroonoko called Arraroopana. All three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles broad, reckoning the islands which divide the branches in it; for afterward I sought also both the other branches.

After we reached to the head of this island, called Assapana, a little to the westward on the right-hand, there opened a river which came from the north, called Europa, and fell into the great river; and beyond it, on the same side, we anchored for that night, by another island six miles long, and two miles broad, which they call Ocawita. From hence in the morning we landed two Guianians, which we found in the town of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our coming to the lord of that country, called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chief lord of Arromai, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you have heard before) Berreo put to death; but his town being far within the land, he came not unto us that day, so as we anchored again that night near the banks of another island, of bigness much like the other, which they call Putapayma, on the main land, over-against which island was a very high mountain called Oecope. We coveted to anchor rather by these islands in the river, than by the main, because of the tortoises' eggs, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the main banks being for the most part stony and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like unto the best

best steel ore, which I assuredly take it to be. Of the same blue stone are also divers great mountains, which border this river in many places.

The next morning toward nine of the clock we weighed anchor, and the breeze increasing, we sailed always west up the river, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champaign, and the banks shewed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with captain Gifford, and with him captain Thyn, captain Calfield, my cousin Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, captain Eynus, master Edward Porter, and my cousin Butshead Gorges, with some few soldiers, to march over the banks of that red land, and to discover what manner of country it was on the other side; who, at their return, found it all a plain level, as far as they went, or could discern, from the highest tree they could get upon. And my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the cassique Toparimaca told me, that those were called the plains of the Sayma; and that the same level reached to Cumana and Carracas, in the West-Indies, which are an hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the third and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before-mentioned was overthrown, as he passed with three hundred horse from Cumana toward Oroonoko, in his enterprise of Guiana; the fourth are called Aroras, and are as black as negroes, but have smooth hair, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dangerous of all nations. Of which poison I will speak somewhat, being a digression not unnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to find out the true remedies of these poisoned arrows: for beside the mortality of the wound they make, the party shot indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death, sometimes dying stark mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies, and are presently discoloured, as black as pitch, and so unsavoury, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them.

And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard, either by gift or torment, that could attain to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these Indians know it not, no, not one among thousands, but their sooth-sayers and priests, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the father to the son.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called tupera: the same also quencheth marvellously the heat of burning fevers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veins that bleed within the body. But I was more beholden to the Guianians than any other, for Antonio de Berreo told me, that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the best way of healing as well thereof, as of all other poisons. Some of the Spaniards have been cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poisoned arrows with the juice of garlick. But this is a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoined arrows are used, that they must abstain from drink; for if they take any liquor into their body, as they shall be marvellously provoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drink before the wound be dressed, or soon upon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will return again to our journey, which for this third day we finished, and cast anchor again near the continent, on the left hand between two mountains, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio. I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared hourly lest any rain should fall, and then it had been impossible to have gone any farther up, notwithstanding that there is every day a very strong breeze, and easterly wind. I deferred the search of the country on Guiana side, till my return down the river. The next day we sailed by a great island, in the middle of the river, called Manoripano; and as we walked a while on the island, while the galley got a-head of us, there came after us from the main, a small canoe with seven or eight Guianians to invite us to anchor at their port; but I deferred it till my return.

return. It was that cassique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with us from the town of Toparimaca. And so the fifth day we reached as high up as the province of Arromaia, the country of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and anchored to the west of an island called Murrecotima, ten miles long and five broad. And that night the cassique Aramiari, (to whose town we made our long and hungry voyage out of the river of Amana) passed by us.

The next day we arrived at the port of Morequito, and anchored there, sending away one of our pilots to seek the king of Aromaia, uncle to Morequito, slain by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following, before noon, he came to us on foot from his house, which was fourteen English miles, (himself being an hundred and ten years old) and returned on foot the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring us down victual, which they did in great plenty, as venison, pork, hens, chickens, fowl, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits, and roots, and great abundance of pines, the princess of fruits that grow under the sun, especially those of Guiana. They brought us also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of paraquitos, no bigger than wrens, and of all sorts both small and great: one of them gave me a beast called by the Spaniards armadilla, which they call cassacam, which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates, somewhat like to a rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horn, which they use to wind instead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth, that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cureth deafness.

After this old king had rested awhile in a little tent that I caused to be set up, I began by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessor, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him know the cause of my coming thither, whose servant I was, and that the queen's pleasure was, I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of Trinedado) Her Majesty's greatness, her justice, her

her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express, or they conceive; all which being with great admiration attentively heard, and marvellously admired, I began to sound the old man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policy, how far it extended, and what nations were friends or enemies adjoining, and finally, of the distance, and way to enter the same. He told me that himself and his people, with all those down the river toward the sea, as for as Emeria, the province of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselves Oroonokoponi, because they bordered the great river of Oroonoko, and that all the nations between the river and those mountains in sight, called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation. And that on the other side of those mountains of Wacarima there was a large plain (which after I discovered in my return) called the valley of Amariocapana, in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians. I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the farther side of those mountains, beyond the valley of Amariocapana, he answered with a great sigh (as a man which had an inward feeling of the loss of his country and liberty, especially for that his eldest son was slain in battle on that side of the mountains, whom he most entirely loved,) that he remembered in his father's life-time when he was very old, and himself a young man, that there came down into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so far off as the sun slept (for such were his own words,) with so great a multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted; and that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed by shewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Oreiones and Epuremei, those that had slain and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees, and had now made themselves lords of all, even to that mountain-foot called Curaa, saving only of two nations, the one called Iwarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos; and that in the last battle fought between the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aid of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troop of the Oroonokoponi,

Oroonokoponi, and was there slain, with all his people and friends; and that he had now remaining but one son. And farther told me, that those Epuremei had built a great town called Macureguarai, at the said mountain-foot, at the beginning of the great plains of Guiana, which have no end; and that their houses have many rooms, one over the other, and that therein the great king of the Oreiones and Epuremei kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withal daily to invade and slay them. But that of late years since the Christians offered to invade his territories and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, saving only the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations upon the head of the river of Caroli called Cassipagotos, which we afterward discovered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemy.

After he had answered thus far he desired leave to depart, saying that he had far to go; that he was old and weak, and was every day called for by death, which was also his own phrase: I desired him to rest with us that night, but I could not intreat him; but he told me, that at my return from the country above he would again come to us, and in the mean time provide for us the best he could, of all that his country yielded. The same night he returned to Orocotona his own town, so as he went that day twenty-eight miles, the weather being very hot, the country being situate between four and five degrees of the equinoctial. This Topiawari is held for the proudest and wisest of all the Oroonokoponi. And so he behaved himself toward me in all his answers at my return, as I marvelled to find a man of that gravity and judgment, and of so good discourse, that had no help of learning nor breed.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed westward up the river to view the famous river called Caroli, as well because it was marvellous of itself, as also for that I understood it led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers that were enemies to the Epuromei, which are subjects to Inga, emperor of Guiana and Manoa; and that night we anchored at another island called Caiama, of some

five

five or six miles in length, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as low or farther down as the port of Morequito we heard the great roar and fall of the river, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, we were not able with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's cast in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and we tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the river, so as we encamped upon the banks adjoining, and sent off our Orconokopone (which came with us from Morequito) to give knowledge to the nations upon the river of our being there, and that we desired to see the lords of Canuria, which dwelt within the province upon that river, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this river's side that Morequito slew the friar, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the city of Inga, and took from them 40,000 pesoes of gold) so as the next day there came down a lord or cassique called Wanuretona, with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertain us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my coming known to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this cassique therewith, and how I was sent by Her Majesty for the purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana. And I found that those also of Caroli were not only enemies to the Spaniards but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in gold; and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this river were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this river descended, and were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos; and that all those, either against the Spaniards or the Epuremei, would join with us; and that if we entered the land over the mountains of Curaa, we should satisfy ourselves with gold, and all other good things. He told us farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken of, that held daily war with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai, the first civil town of Guiana, of the subjects of Inga the emperor.

Upon

Upon this river one captain George, that I took with Berreo, told me there was a great silver mine, and that it was near the banks of the said river. But by this time as well Oroonoko, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers were risen four or five feet in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever, to row into the river against the stream. I therefore sent captain Thyn, captain Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, my cousin Butshead Gorges, captain Clarke, and some thirty shot more, to coast the river by land, and to go to a town some twenty miles over the valley called Amnatapoi; and if they found guides there to go farther toward the mountain-foot to another great town called Capurepana, belonging to a cassique called Haaracoa, (that was a nephew to old Topiawari king of Arromaia, our chiefest friend) because this town and province of Capurepana adjoined to Macureguarai, which was the frontier-town of the empire. And the meanwhile myself with captain Gifford, captain Calfield, Edward Hancock, and some half a dozen shot marched over-land to view the strange overfalls of the river of Caroli, which roared so far of, and also to see the plains adjoining, and the rest of the province of Canuri. I sent also captain Whiddon, W. Connoke, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral stone along the river's side. When we run to the tops of the first hills of the plain adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli; and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts above twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church-tower, which fell with that fury that the rebound of waters made it seem, as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For my own part, I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman; but the rest were all so desirous to go near the strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the

same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the vallies, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand easy to march on either for horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds toward the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes, and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind, and every stone that we stooped to take up, promised either gold or silver by its complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun; and yet we had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard of that mineral spar aforesaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and beside the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks. But we wanted all things requisite save only our desires, and good will to have performed more, if it had pleased God.

To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also several sorts of stones that appeared very fair, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any gold fixed in them; yet such as had no judgment or experience kept all that glittered, and would not be persuaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of marquesite withal, from Trinedado, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same; yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told me that it was el madre del oro, and that the mine was farther in the ground. But it shall be found a weak policy in me, either to betray myself or my country with imaginations, neither am I so far in love with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefs that accompany these voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, were I not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captain Whiddon, and our surgeon Nicholas Millechap,

chap, brought me a kind of stones like saphires; what they may prove I know not. I shewed them to some of the Oroonokoponi, and they promised to bring me to a mountain, that had of them very large pieces growing diamond-wise; whether it be crystal of the mountain, Bristol diamond, or saphire, I do not yet know, but I hope the best; sure I am, that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height, or very near.

On the left hand of this river Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri, before remembered, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it, adjoining to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther understood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is above one day's journey for one of their canoes to cross, which may be some forty miles; and that therein fall divers rivers, and that great store of grains of gold are found in the summer-time, when the lake falleth by the banks in those branches. There is also another goodly river beyond Caroli which is called Arvi, which also runneth through the lake Cassipa, and falleth into Oroonoko farther west, making all that land between Caroli and Arvi an island, which is likewise a most beautiful country. Next unto Arvi there are two rivers, Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora are a nation of people, whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which, though it may be thought a mere fable, yet for mine own part I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirm the same; they are called Ewaipanoma. They are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of hair groweth backward between their shoulders. The son of Topiarwarri, which I brought with me into England, told me, that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bows, arrows, and clubs thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Oroonokoponi; and that one of the Iwarawakeri took a prisoner of them the year before our arrival there, and brought him into the borders of Arro-

maia, his father's country; and farther, when I seemed to doubt of it he told me, that it was no wonder among them; but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the provinces, and had of late years slain many hundreds of his father's people, and of other nations their neighbours. But it was not my chance to hear of them till I was come away; and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Maundeville, whose reports were held for fables many years; and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible. Whether it be true or no the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination; for mine own part I saw them not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine or forethink to make the report.

When I came to Cumana in the West Indies afterward, by chance I spoke with a Spaniard dwelling not far from thence, a man of great travel; and after he knew that I had been in Guiana, and so far directly west as Caroli, the first question he asked me was, whether I had seen any of the Ewaipanona, which are those without heads; who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, told me that he had seen many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disadvantage, but he is well known to Monsieur Mucheron's sons of London, and to Peter Mucheron, merchant, of the Flemish ship that was there in trade, who also heard what he avowed to be true of those people. The fourth river to the west of Caroli is Casnero, which falleth into Oroonoko on this side of Amapaia; and that river is greater than Danubius, or any of Europe; it riseth on the south of Guiana from the mountains which divide Guiana from Amazones, and I think it to be navigable many hundred miles. But we had no time, means, nor season of the year, to search those rivers for the causes aforesaid, the winter being come upon us, although the winter and summer as touching cold and heat differ not, neither do the trees ever sensibly

lose

lose their leaves, but have always fruit either ripe or green, and most of them both blossoms, leaves, ripe fruit, and green, at one time; but their winter only consisteth of terrible rains, and overflowings of the rivers, with many great storms and gusts, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill ere we returned. On the north side, the first river that falleth into Oroonoko is Cari; beyond it on the same side is the river of Limo; between these two is a great nation of canibals, and their chief town beareth the name of the river, and is called Acamacari. As this town is a continual market of women for three or four hatchets a-piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the west of Limo is the river Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari, and Capuri, which falleth out of the great river of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. To the westward of Capuri is the province of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people poisoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. Above Amapaia, toward Nuevo Reyno fall in Meta, Pato, and Cassanar; to the west of these, toward the provinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios, are the rivers of Beta, Dawney, and Ubarrow; and toward the frontier of Peru are the provinces of Thomebamba, and Caximalta; adjoining to Quito, in the north of Peru, are the rivers of Guiacar and Goavar; and on the other side of the said mountains the river of Papamene, which descendeth into Maragnon or Amazones, passing through the province of the Mutylones, where Don Pedro de Osua, who was slain by the traitor Agiri, before rehearsed, built his brigantines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazones. Between Dawney and Beta lieth a famous island in Oroonoko, now called Baraquan, (for above Meta it is not known by the name of Oroonoko) which is called Athule, beyond which ships of burden cannot pass by reason of a most forcible overfall, and current of waters; but in the eddy all smaller vessels may be drawn, even to Peru itself. But to speak of more of these rivers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leave the rest to the description.

This

This river of Oroonoko is navigable for ships little less than 1000 miles, and for lesser vessels near 2000. By it (as aforesaid) Peru, Nuevo Reyno, and Popaian, may be invaded; it also leadeth to that great empire of Inga, and to the provinces of Amapaia and Anebas, which abound in gold; his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora, descend from the middle-land and valley, which lieth between the eastern province of Peru and Guiana, and it falls into the sea between Maragnon and Trinedado in two degrees and a half. All which Your Honours shall better perceive in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nuevo Reyno, the kingdom of Popayan and Roidas, with the province of Vensuello, to the bay of Uraba, behind Cartagena, westward; and to Amazones southward. While we lay at anchor on the coast of Canurt, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of this river, and had found out so many several people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerors, I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Oroonoko began daily to threaten us with dangers in our return; for no half day passed but the river began to rage and overflow very fearfully, and the rains came down in terrible showers, and gusts in great abundance; and withal, our men began to cry out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestow any other apparel than that which he wore on his back, and that was thoroughly washed on his body, for the most part ten times in one day; and we had now been well near a month, every day passing to the westward, farther and farther from our ships. We therefore turned toward the east, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the river toward the sea, which we had not yet viewed, and which was most material. The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arrived again at the port of Morequito, where we were before, (for passing down the stream we went without labour, and against the wind, little less than one hundred miles a-day). As soon as I came to anchor I sent away one for old Topiawari, with whom I much desired to have farther conference; and also to deal with him for some one of his country, to bring with us into England,

England, as well to learn the language, as to confer withal by the way, (the time being now spent of any longer stay there) within three hours after my messenger came to him, he arrived also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and every one laden with somewhat, as if it had been a great market or fair in England. And our hungry companies clustered thick and threefold among their baskets, every one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested awhile in my tent, I shut out all but ourselves, and my interpreter; and told him, that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his country, and nations. That the one had conquered Guiana already, and that the other sought to regain the same from them both. And therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the civil towns and apparelled people of Inga. He gave me an answer to this effect: first, that he did not perceive that I meant to go onward toward the city of Manoa; for neither the time of the year served, neither could he perceive any sufficient numbers for such an enterprise; and if I did, I was sure with all my company to be buried there; for that the emperor was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too few. Beside, he gave me this good counsel, and advised me to hold it in mind, (as for himself, he knew he could not live till my return) that I should not offer by any means hereafter to invade the strong parts of Guiana, without the help of all those nations which were also their enemies, for that it was impossible without those, either to be conducted, to be victualled, or to have aught carried with us, our people not being able to endure the march in so great heat and travel, unless the borderers gave them help to carry with them both their meat and furniture. For he remembered, that in the plains of Macureguarai three hundred Spaniards were overthrown, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friends; but meeting their enemies, as they passed the frontier, were environed on all sides, and the people setting the long dry grass on fire, smothered them so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discern their enemies for the great smoke.

He

He told me farther, that four days journey from his own town was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and nearest of the subjects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the first town of apparelled and rich people; and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers, and carried to other nations far and near, came from the said Macureguarai, and were there made; but that those of the land within, were far finer, and were fashioned after the image of men, beasts, birds, and fishes. I asked him whether he thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that town or no, he told me that he thought they were. I then asked him whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to join with us? He answered, that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the rivers did remain fordable; upon this condition, that I would leave with him till my return again, fifty soldiers, which he undertook to victual. I answered, that I had not above fifty good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers; and that I had no provision to leave with them, of powder, shot, apparel, or aught else; and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should be in danger of the Spaniards, in my absence, who I knew would use the same measure toward mine, that I offered them at Trinedado. And although, upon the motion, captain Calfield, captain Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, and divers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolved that they must needs have perished; for Berreo expected daily a supply out of Spain, and looked also hourly for his son to come down from Nuevo Reyno de Granada, with many horse and foot; and had also in Valentia, in the Caraccas, two hundred horse ready to march; and I could not have spared above forty, and had not any store at all of powder, lead, or match to have left with them, nor any other provision, either spade, pick-axe, or aught else to have fortified withal. When I had given him reason that I could not at this time leave him such a company, he then desired me to forbear him and his country for that time; for he assured me that I should be no sooner three days from the coast, but those Epuremei would invade him, and destroy all the remains of his people

people and friends, if he should any way either guide us, or assist us against them. He farther alledged, that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murdered his nephew Morequito, lord of that province, so they had him seventeen days in a chain before he was king of the country, and led him like a dog from place to place, until he had paid an hundred plates of gold, and divers chains of spleen-stones for his ransom; and now since he became owner of that province that they had many times laid wait to take him, and that they would be now more vehement when they should understand of his conference with the English. And because, said he, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay hands on me, they have gotten a nephew of mine, called Eparacano, whom they have christened Don Ivan, and his son Don Pedro, whom they have also apparelled and armed, by whom they seek to make a party against me in mine own country. He also hath taken to wife one Loviana, of a strong family, which are my borderers and neighbours; and myself being now old and in the hands of death, am not able to travel nor to shift as when I was of younger years.

He therefore prayed us to defer it till the next year, when he would undertake to draw in all the borderers to serve us, and then also it would be more seasonable to travel; for at this time of the year, we should not be able to pass any river, the waters were and would be so grown ere our return. He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to invade Macureguarai, and the rest of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement than I; for he yielded for a chief cause, that in the wars with the Epuremei, they were spoiled of their women, and that their wives and daughters were taken from them; so as for their own parts they desired nothing of the gold or treasure for their labours, but only to recover women from the Epuremei. For he farther complained very sadly (as if it had been a matter of great consequence) that whereas there were wont to have ten or twelve wives, they were now enforced to content themselves with three or four, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or an hundred. And in truth they were more for women, than either for gold or dominion. For the lords of countries desire many

children of their own bodies, to increase their races and kindreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Divers of his followers afterward desired me to make haste again that they might sack the Epuremei; and I asked them of what? They answered, of their women for us, and their gold for you. For the hope of many of those women they more desire the war, than either for gold, or for the recovery of their ancient territories. For what between the subjects of Inga, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are grown thin of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off, for fear of the Spaniards.

After I received this answer of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had been of better advice to have entered Macureguarai, and to have begun a war upon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the year, and all things else had sorted. For mine own part (as we were not able to march it for the rivers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the winter, or to tarry any longer from our ships) I thought it very evil counsel to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answer many objections. But it would have been in my opinion an utter overthrow to the enterprise, if the same should be hereafter by Her Majesty attempted; for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by Her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joined with the Spaniards at our return, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errand, and that both sought but to sack and spoil them. But as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion, is not known unto those of the empire; and it is likely that if Her Majesty undertake the enterprise, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience, than to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already tasted. And therefore till I had known Her Majesty's pleasure, I would rather have lost the sack of one or two towns (although they might have been very profitable) than to have defaced or endangered the future hope of so many millions; and the great, good, and rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured now, that they will

will all die, even to the last man, against the Spaniards, in hope of our succour and return. Whereas, otherwise, if I had either laid hands on the borderers, or ransomed the lords as Berreo did, or invaded the subjects of Inga, I know all had been lost for hereafter.

After that I had resolved Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leave with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the enterprise against the Epuremei till the next year, he freely gave me his only son to take with me into England, and hoped, that though he himself had but a short time to live, yet, that by our means his son should be established after his death. And I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a servant of captain Gifford, (who was desirous to tarry, and could describe a country with his pen) and a boy of mine, called Hugh Goodwin, to learn the language. I after asked the manner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of gold, and how they could melt it out of the stone. He told me that the most of the gold which they made in plates and images was not severed from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other rivers, they gathered it in grains of perfect gold, and in pieces as big as small stones; and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they could not work it, and that they used a great earthen pot, with holes round about it: and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metal ran; and then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I have sent Your Honours of two sorts such as I could by chance recover, more to shew the manner of them, than for the value. For I did not in any sort make my desire of gold known, because I had neither time nor power to have a greater quantity. I gave among them many more pieces of gold than I received, of the new money of twenty shilllings, with Her Majesty's picture, to wear, with promise that they would become her servants thenceforth.

I have also sent Your Honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yieldeth any; of which I know there is sufficient if nothing else were to be hoped for. But beside that we were not

able to tarry and search the hills, so we had neither pioneers, bars, sledges, nor wedges of iron, to break the ground, without which there is no working in mines. But we saw all the hills with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no marcasite; and therefore such as the Spaniards call el madre del oro, which is an undoubted assurance of the general abundance; and myself saw the outside of many mines of the white spar, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world, and of those more than I will speak of.

Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and received a faithful promise of the principalest of those provinces to become servants to Her Majesty, and to resist the Spaniards if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawakeri; I then parted from old Topiawari, and received his son for a pledge between us, and left with him two of ours, as aforesaid. To Francis Sparrow I gave instructions to travel to Macureguarai, with such merchandizes as I left with him, thereby to learn the place, and if it were possible to go on to the great city of Manoa; which being done, we weighed anchor, and coasted the river on Guiana-side, because we came up on the north-side, by the lawns of the Saima and Wikiri.

There came with us from Aromaia a cassique called Putyma, that commanded the province of Warapana, (which Putyma slew the nine Spaniards upon Caroli before spoken of) who desired us to rest at the port of his country, promising to bring us to a mountain adjoining to his town, that had stones of the colour of gold, which he performed. And after we had rested there one night, I went myself in the morning with most of the gentlemen of my company, overland toward the said mountain, marching by a river's side called Mana, leaving on the right-hand a town called Tuteritona, standing in the province of Tarracoa, of which Wariaaremagoto is principal. Beyond it lieth another town toward the south, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name

of

of the said valley, whose plains stretch themselves some sixty miles in length, east and west, as fair ground and as beautiful fields as any man hath ever seen, with divers copses scattered here and there by the river's side, and all as full of deer as any forest or park in England; and in every lake and river the like abundance of fish and fowl, of which Icraparragota is lord.

From the river of Mana we crossed another river in the said beautiful valley, called Oiana, and rested ourselves by a clear lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana; and one of our guides kindling us fire with two sticks we staid awhile to dry our shirts, which with the heat hung very wet and heavy on our shoulders. Afterward we sought the ford to pass over toward the mountain called Iconuri, where Putyma foretold us of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes as big as a wine-pipe, which they call Manati, and is most excellent and wholesome meat. But after I perceived, that to pass the said river would require half a-day's march more, I was not able myself to endure it, and therefore I sent captain Keymis, with six shot, to go on, and gave him order not to return to the port of Putyma, which is called Chiparepare; but to take leisure, and to march down the said valley as far as a river called Cumaca, where I promised to meet him again, (Putyma himself promising also to be his guide,) and as they marched they left the towns of Emparepana and Capurepana, on the right-hand, and marched from Putyma's house, down the said valley of Amariocopana; and we returning the same day to the river's side, saw by the way many rocks like unto gold ore, and on the left-hand, a round mountain, which consisted of mineral stone.

From hence we rowed down the stream, coasting the province of Parino. As for the branches of rivers, which I overpass in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description, with the mountains of Aio, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the provinces of Parino and Carricurina. When we were come as far down as the land called Arriacora, (where Oroonoko divideth itself into three great branches, each of them being most goodly rivers), I sent away captain Henry Thyn and captain Greenvile,

vile with the galley, the nearest way, and took with me captain Gifford, captain Calfield, Edward Porter, and captain Eynos, with mine own barge and the two wherries, and went down that branch of Oroonoko which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth toward Emeria the province of Carapana, and toward the east sea, as well to find out captain Keymis, whom I had sent overland, as also to acquaint myself with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Oroonokoponi. And when we came to the river of Cumaca (to which Putyma promised to conduct captain Keymis) I left captain Eynos and master Porter in the said river, to expect his coming, and the rest of us rowed down the stream toward Emeria.

In this branch, called Cararoopana, were also many goodly islands, some of six miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew toward sun-set we entered a branch of a river that fell into Oroonoko, called Winicapora, where I was informed of the mountain of crystal; to which in truth, for the length of the way and the evil season of the year, I was not able to march nor abide any longer upon the journey. We saw it far off, and it appeared like a white church-tower of an exceeding height; there falleth over it a mighty river, which toucheth no part of the side of the mountain, but rusheth over the top of it, and falleth to the ground, with a terrible noise and clamour as if a thousand great bells were knocked one against another. I think there is not in the world so strange an overfall, nor so wonderful to behold. Berreo told me, that it hath diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very far off; but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the said mountain, those people adjoining being his enemies (as they were) and the way to it so impassable.

Upon this river of Winecapora we rested awhile, and from thence marched into the country to a town called after the name of the river, whereof the chief was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct me to the top of the said mountain called Wacarima. But when we came in first to the house of the said Timitwara, being upon one of their feast-days, we found them all as drunk as beggars, and the pots walking from one to another without rest. We that

were

were weary, and hot with marching, were glad of the plenty, though a small quantity satisfied us, their drink being very strong and heady, and so rested ourselves awhile. After we had fed we drew ourselves back to our boats upon the river, and there came to us all the lords of the country, with all such kind of victual as the place yielded, and with their delicate wine of pinas, and with abundance of hens and other provisions, and of those stones which we call spleen-stones. We understood by these chieftains of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria, which was now in sight, and that he was fled to Cairamo, adjoining to the mountains of Guiana, over the valley called Amariocopana; being persuaded by those ten Spaniards which lay at his house, that we would destroy him and his country.

But after these cassiqui of Winicapora and Saporatona, his followers, perceived our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards only, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no, though we found them to be of the Spaniards' own servants, they assured us that Carapana would be as ready to serve us, as any of the lords of the provinces which we had passed; and that he durst do no other till this day but entertain the Spaniards, his country lying so directly in their way, and the next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they farther assured us, that it was not for fear of our coming that he was removed, but to be acquitted of those Spaniards, or any other, that should come hereafter; for the province of Cairoma is situate at the mountain-foot, which divideth the plains of Guiana from the countries of Oroonokoponi; by means whereof if any should come in our absence into his towns, he would slip over the mountains into the plains of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in my opinion, or rather I assure myself, that Carapana (being a notable, wise, and subtle fellow, a man of one hundred years of age, and therefore of great experience) is removed, to look on, and if he find that we return strong he will be ours, if not, he will excuse

excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for fear of our coming.

We therefore thought it bootless to row so far down the stream, or to seek any farther for this old fox. And therefore from the river of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria), we turned again, and left to the eastward those four rivers which fall from out the mountains of Emeria into Oroonoko, which are Waracapari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma. Below those four are also these branches and mouths of Oroonoko, which fall into the east sea, whereof the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fifth Moroca, the sixth Paroma, the last Wymi; beyond them there fall out of the land between Oroonoko and Amazones fourteen rivers, which I forbear to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to return toward the north, and we found it a wearisome way back from the borders of Emeria, to recover up again to the head of the river Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entered first.

All the night it was stormy and dark, and full of thunder and great showers, so as we were driven to keep close by the banks in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible current of the river. By the next morning we recovered the mouth of the river of Cumaca, where we left captain Eynos and Edward Porter to attend the coming of captain Keymis overland; but when we entered the same, they had heard no news of his arrival, which bred in us a great doubt what might be become of him. I rowed up a league or two farther into the river, shooting off pieces all the way, that he might know of our being there; and the next morning we heard them answer us also with a piece: we took them aboard us, and took our leave of Putyma their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his son with us into England, if we could have staid till he had sent back to his town. But our hearts were cold to behold the great rage

and

and increase of Orenoko, and therefore departed, and turned toward the west, till we had recovered the parting of the three branches aforesaid, that we might put down the stream after the galley.

The next day we landed on the island of Assapana, (which divideth the river from that branch by which we went down to Emeria) and there feasted ourselves with that beast which is called armadilla, presented unto us before at Winicapora; and the day following we recovered the galley at anchor at the port of Toparimaca, and the same evening departed with very foul weather and terrible thunder and showers, for the winter was come on very far. The best was, we went no less than an hundred miles a-day down the river; but by the way we entered it was impossible to return, for that the river of Amana, being in the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sailed back by any means, both the breeze and current of the sea were so forcible; and therefore we followed a branch of Oroonoko called Capuri, which entered into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might bear with them before the wind; and it was not without need, for we had by that way as much to cross of the main sea, after we came to the river's mouth as between Gravelin and Dover in such boats as Your Honours have heard.

To speak of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the rivers, islands, or villages of the Tivitivas, which dwell on trees; we will leave all those to the general map. And to be short, when we were arrived at the sea-side then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed; for I protest before God that we were in a most desperate estate. For the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the river of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close under the land with our small boats, and brought the galley as near as we could, but she had as much ado to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her. For mine own part, I confess I was very doubtful which way to take,

either to go over in the pestered galley, there being but six foot water over the sands for two leagues together, and that also in the channel, and she drew five; or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtful weather to cross the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took captain Gifford, captain Calfield, and my cousin Greenvile, into my barge, and after it cleared up about midnight we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea leaving the galley at anchor, who durst not adventure but by day-light. And so being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shew courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clock, we descried the island of Trinidado, and steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to Curiapan, where we found our ships at anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to send us safe to our ships, it is time to leave Guiana to the sun, whom they worship, and steer away toward the north. I will therefore in a few words finish the discovery thereof. Of the several nations which we found upon this discovery I will once again make repetition, and how they are affected. At our first entrance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Oroonoko, we left on the right-hand of us in the bottom of the bay, lying directly against Trinidado, a nation of inhuman canibals which inhabit the rivers of Guanipa and Berbeese; in the same bay there is also a third river which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side toward Cumana, and that river is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chief town upon the said river is Sayma. In this bay there are no more rivers but these three before rehearsed, and the four branches of Amana; all which in the winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken up fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passage toward Guiana, (that is, in all those lands which the eight branches of Oroonoko fashion into islands,) there are but one sort of people called Tivitivas, but of two casts, as they term them, the one called Ciawani, the other Waraweeti, and those war one with the other.

On

On the hithermost part of Oroonoko, as at Toparimaca and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, lord of Emeria. Those between Winicapora and the port of Morequito, which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocopana are called Oroonokoponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Upon the river of Caroli are the Canuri, which are governed by a woman (who is inheritrix of that province) who came far off to see our nation, and asked me divers questions of Her Majesty, being much delighted with the discourse of Her Majesty's greatness, and wondering at such reports as we truly made of Her Highness' many virtues. And upon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong nations of the Cassipagotos. Right south into the land are the Capurepani and Emparepani, and beyond those adjoining to Macureguarai, (the first city of Inga), are the Iwarawakeri; all these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the west of Caroli are divers nations of canibals, and of those Ewaipanoma, without heads. Directly west are the Amapias and Anebas, which are also marvellous rich in gold. The rest toward Peru we will omit. On the north of Oroonoko, between it and the West Indies are the Wikiri, Sami, and the rest before spoken of, all mortal enemies to the Spaniards. On the south-side of the main mouth of Oroonoko, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals. And to the south of them the Amazons.

To make mention of the several beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gums, sweet woods, and of their several religions and customs, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, emperors of Peru, used, which may be read in Cieca, and other Spanish stories; how they believe the immortality of the soul, worship the sun, and bury with them alive their best beloved wives and treasure, as they likewise do in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Oroonokoponi bury not their wives with them but their jewels, hoping to enjoy

them again. The Arwacas dry the bones of their lords, and their wives and friends drink them in powder. In the graves of the Peruvians the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure; the like also is to be found among these people in every province. They have all many wives, and the lords five-fold to the common sort; their wives never eat with their husbands, nor among the men, but serve their husbands at meals, and afterward feed by themselves. Those that are past their younger years, make all their bread and drink, and work their cotton beds, and do all else of service and labour, for the men do nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drink, when they are out of the wars.

I will enter no farther into discourse of their manners, laws, and customs. And because I have not myself seen the cities of Inga, I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely, that the emperor Inga hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in Guiana as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rareness most marvellous, and exceeding all in Europe, and I think of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be of truth, as also the nations of the borderers, who being but salvaios to those of the inland, do cause much treasure to be buried with them. For I was informed of one of the cassiqui of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arrival, a chair of gold most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguari adjoining, or in Manoa; but if we should have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had been taught better, and have digged up their graves, we had lost them all; and therefore I held my first resolution, that Her Majesty should either accept or refuse the enterprize, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heaps of gold, whereof those Ingas were princes, and that they delighted so much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in Manoa, hath the same humour, and I am assured hath more abundance of gold within his territory than all Peru and the West Indies.

For

For the rest, which myself have seen, I will promise these things that follow, and know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many arms and branches leading to several countries and provinces, above 2000 miles east and west, and 800 miles south and north; and of these the most either rich in gold, or in other merchandizes. The common soldier shall here fight for gold, and pay himself, instead of pence, with plates of half a foot broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other wars for provant and penury. Those commanders and chieftains that shoot at honour and abundance, shall find there more rich and beautiful cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either Cortez found in Mexico, or Pizzaro in Peru; and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so far-extended beams of the Spanish nation. There is no country which yieldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for these common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, than Guiana doth. It hath so many plains, clear rivers, abundance of pheasants, partridges, quails, rails, cranes, herons, and all other fowl; deer of all sorts, porkers, hares, lions, tigers, leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts, either for chace or food. It hath a kind of beast called cama or anta, as big as an English beef, and in great plenty.

To speak of the several sorts of every kind I fear would be troublesome to the reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good air, pleasure, and riches, I am resolved it cannot be equalled by any region either in the east or west. Moreover the country is so healthful, as one hundred persons and more which lay, (without shift most sluttishly, and were every day almost melted with heat in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet again with great showers, and did eat of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meals of fresh fish without seasoning, of tortugas, of lagartos, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and beside lodged in the open air every night) we lost not any one, nor had

had one ill-disposed to my knowledge, nor found any callentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so near the equinoctial line.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needless to remember other commodities for trade. But it hath toward the south part of the river, great quantities of brasil-wood, and of divers berries that dye a most perfect crimson and carnation; and for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies, yield none such, for the more the skin is washed the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which even those brown and tawny women spot themselves and colour their cheeks. All places yield abundance of cotton, of silk, of balsamum, and of those kinds most excellent, and never known in Europe; of all sorts of gums, of Indian pepper; and what else the country may afford within the land we know not, neither had we time to abide the trial and search. The soil beside is so excellent, and so full of rivers, as it will carry sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities which the West Indies hath.

The navigation is short, for it may be sailed with an ordinary wind in six weeks, and in the like time back again, and by the way neither lee-shore, enemy's coast, rocks, nor sands; all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places we are subject unto, as the channel of Bahama coming from the West Indies, cannot be passed in the winter, and when it is at the best it is a perilous and fearful place. The rest of the Indies for calms and diseases very troublesome, and the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms.

This very year there were seventeen sail of Spanish ships lost in the channel of Bahama, and the great Philip like to have sunk at the Bermudas, was put back to Saint Juan de Puerto Rico. And so it falleth out in that navigation every year for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared. For the time of the year to leave England is best in July, and the summer in Guiana is in October, November, December, January, February, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in April, and so return again into England

in

in June, so as they shall never be subject to winter-weather, either coming, going, or staying there; which, for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on, having (as done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calms, so much heat, such outrageous gusts, foul weather and contrary winds.

To conclude; Guiana is a country that hath yet her maidenhead, never sacked, turned, nor wrought; the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue and salt of the soil spent by manurance, the graves have not been opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their images pulled down out of their temples. It hath never been entered by any army of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian prince. It is beside so defensible, that if two forts be built in one of the provinces which I have seen, the flood setteth in so near the bank where the channel also lieth, that no ship can pass up, but within a pike's length of the artillery, first of the one, and afterward of the other. Which two forts will be a sufficient guard both to the empire of Inga, and to an hundred other several kingdoms lying within the said river, even to the city of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference between the easiness of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East-Indies. Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it have that) for any vessels of burden; so as whosoever shall first possess it, it shall be found unaccessable for any enemy, except he come in wherries, barges, or canoes, or else in flat-bottomed boats; and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thick two hundred miles together upon the rivers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat unhit from the bank. By land it is more impossible to approach, for it hath the strongest situation of any region under the sun, and is so environed with impassable mountains on every side, as it is impossible to victual any company in the passage, which hath been well proved by the Spanish nation, who, since the conquest of Peru, have never left five years free from attempting this empire,

empire, or discovering some way into it; and yet of twenty-three several gentlemen, knights, and noblemen, there was never any that knew which way to lead an army by land, or to conduct ships by sea, any thing near the said country. Oreliano, of which the river of Amazons taketh name was the first, and Don Anthonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last. And I doubt much, whether he himself or any of his, yet know the best way into the said empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set down but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters of galleys built, and furnished upon the river within. The West-Indies hath many ports, watering-places, and landings, and nearer than three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a ship, except he know one only place, which is not learnt in haste, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Beside, by keeping one good fort, or building one town of strength, the whole empire is guarded, and whatsoever companies shall be afterward planted within the land, although in twenty several provinces, those shall be able to re-unite themselves upon any occasion, either by the way of one river, or be able to march by land without either wood, bog, or mountain; whereas, in the West-Indies there are few towns or provinces that can succour or relieve one the other, either by land or sea. By land the countries are either desert, mountainous, or strong enemies. By sea, if any man invade to the eastward, those to the west cannot in many months turn against the breeze and easter-wind; beside, the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are nowhere strong, but in Nueva Hispania only; the sharp mountains, the thorns, and poisoned prickles, the sandy and deep ways in the vallies, the smothering heat and air, and want of water in other places, are their only and best defence, which (because those nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neither have any place to find adjoining) do serve them instead of good arms and great multitudes.

The West-Indies were first offered Her Majesty's grandfather by

by Columbus, a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceit, and beside, it was then thought incredible, that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This empire is made known to Her Majesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty than an ordinary subject; so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefits which I have received, to abuse Her Highness either with fables or imaginations. The country is already discovered, many nations won to Her Majesty's love and obedience; and those Spaniards which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Majesty may, in this enterprise, employ all those soldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captains and chieftains that want employment, and the charge will be only the first setting out in victualling and arming them; for after the first or second year, I doubt not but to see in London a contractation-house of more receipt for Guiana, than there is now in Seville for the West-Indies.

And I am resolved, that if there were but a small army a-foot in Guiana, marching toward Manoa the chief city of Inga, he would yield Her Majesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearly, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home; and that he would beside pay a garrison of 3000 or 4000 soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations. For he cannot but know, how his predecessors, yea how his own great uncles Guascar and Atibalipa, sons to Guanacapa emperor of Peru, were (while they contended for the empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late years, and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entry of his country. And of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects, no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladness; if not, he hath neither shot nor iron-weapon in all his empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember, that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Majesty of God to be true)

that there was found among prophecies in Peru, (at such time as the empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, among divers others which foreshewed the loss of the said empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be again in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said conquerors. And I hope, as we with these few hands have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said country, so Her Majesty will give order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as empress of the same. For whatsoever prince shall possess it, shall be greatest; and if the king of Spain enjoy it he will become irresistible. Her Majesty hereby shall confirm and strengthen the opinion of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the south border of Guiana reacheth to the dominion and empire of the Amazons, those women shall hereby hear the name of a virgin, which is not only able to defend her own territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great empires, and so far removed.

To speak more at this time, I fear would be but troublesome. I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Lady of Ladies, to possess it; if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves[a]."

[a] This piece was first published by Sir Walter under the title The Discovery of the large rich and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden city of Manoa, called by the Spaniards El Dorado, &c. printed by Robert Robinson, London, 4to, 1596. It has been reprinted in Hakluyt's Voyages, 2nd edition, III. 627, and in Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 137. Also in Latin under the title Brevis et admiranda Descriptio Regni Guianæ, &c. Norimb. Impens. 4to, 1599. The Abstract of Spaniards' Letters and Reports subjoined to these editions, will be found in the Appendix, No. VI.

CHAP. V.

BEFORE Sir Walter bent his course homeward from his Guianian expedition, he appears to have coasted Terra Firma, and touched at Cumana, St. Mary's, and Rio de la Hacha. The inhabitants of the first refusing him a contribution which he demanded, he fired their town; and also made a slight attack upon the latter places[1]. He then steered for Cuba, where at Cape St. Antonio he fell in on the 13th of July, with the expedition of captains Preston and Sommers, for the West-Indies, which he kept company for seven days and then lost it[2]. He arrived in England probably late in the summer of 1595.

Fires Cumana, &c.

returns to England.

The dedication prefixed to the Guianian voyage, as well as his address to the reader[3], sufficiently discover that the intelligence Ralegh brought with him was not received in this conntry in a manner the most satisfactory; and while some probably treated his narration as fabulous, or at least, uncertain, and others dwelt on the hazard of risking a large fleet in so unhealthy a climate, he was not likely to experience that public concurrence which he seems to have hoped for in the prosecution of his discovery. We may reasonably conclude indeed, that his absence from this country was too short to extinguish that jealousy of his rivals in power, which, it has been supposed, contributed to induce him to this undertaking; and their influence may have proved a very powerful weapon in co-operation with the natural difficulties attending it, to conduce to the rejection of his scheme. What his personal reception was with the queen, we are not informed, but it is clear that he was not re-admitted to her court in the first instance, at least. For in a letter from Rowland Whyte,

Indifferent reception.

[1] See Camden's Elizab. Ann. 1595.
[2] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III. 582.
[3] See the preceding chapter.

Esq. to Sir Robert Sydney, dated December 13th, 1595, we read, *there be great means made for Sir Walter Ralegh's coming to the court—he lives about London very gallant—his voyage goes forward, and my Lord Treasurer ventures with him £500, in money, Sir Robert Cecil ventures a new ship, bravely furnished, the very hull stands in £800*[a].

The latter part of this quotation alludes to Sir Walter's second attempt on Guiana. The expedition consisted of two vessels, the Darling and the Discoverer; and the command of it was given to Mr. Laurence Keymis, who had accompanied Sir Walter in the former voyage. He sailed in January 1596, and on his return in the June following published an account of his expedition, dedicated to Ralegh. As this enterprise is of the last importance in Sir Walter's history and in the end cost him his life, the progress of it merits the peculiar attention of the reader. I shall therefore here insert the narrative of Keymis, as preserved by Hakluyt the cotemporary naval historian.

1596.

Second voyage to Guiana

A Relation of the second Voyage to GUIANA, *performed and written in the Year* 1596, *by* LAURENCE KEYMIS, *Gent.*

Dedication to Ralegh.

To the approved right valorous and worthy knight, Sir WALTER RALEGH, *Lord-warden of the Stannaries, Captain of Her Majesty's Guard, and Her Highness' Lieutenant-general of the County of Cornwall.*

" I have here briefly set down the effect of this your second discovery without any enlargement of made words, for in this argument single speech best beseemeth a simple truth. Where the affinity of the matter with your person leadeth one to write of yourself unto yourself, that small liberty which I have therein used, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be given to the cause in hand. Which whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing less

[a] See Collins' Sydney Letters, fol. 1746. I. 377.

than

than of right belongeth, the judgment be theirs that uprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequence of their evil purpose, who, in seeking to detract from the author of these discoveries, do, so much as in them lieth, wound, deface, and tread under-foot the thing itself. But this is no novelty, nor proper only to these our days. For long since it hath been said *laudes eo usque sunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur quæ auditores se quoque facere posse existimant; si majora proferantur invident non credunt.* The fervent zeal and loyalty of your mind in labour with this birth of so honourable expectation, as it hath deserved a recompence far different, so needeth it not my poor suffrage to endear the toil, care and danger that you have willingly undergone for the good and advancement of our weal-public. The praise-worthiness thereof doth approve itself, and is better read in your living doings than in my dead unregarded papers. All that I can wish is, that my life were a sufficient pledge to justify how much more easy and more material the course for Guiana would be, than others, which requiring greater charge, yield not so large benefit, and are subject to more doubtful events. If, unto their wisdoms who sit in place and authority, it shall appear otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is less difficulty, certainer profit, and needfuller offence unto the enemy, the cost and travail which you have bestowed shall not, I hope, be altogether lost, if unto Your Honour I can prove how and where the amends are to be had, maugre the force and prevention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordship's to be commanded in all service,
LAURENCE KEYMIS[5]"

[5] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III. 666. The address *to the favourers of the voyage for Guiana; De Guicna carmen epicum,* probably by George Chapman; and *Ad Thomam Harriotum Matheseos et universæ philosophiæ peritissimum, de Guiana carmen,* by Keymis, will be found in the Appendix, No. vii.

The

The second Voyage to GUIANA.

"Monday January 26th in the year of our Lord 1596, we departed from Portland-road in the Darling of London, having in company the Discoverer, a small pinnace which we lost at sea in foul weather, the thursday next following. Friday, Feb. 13th, we fell with the Canary-islands, where we expected our pinnace according to our appointment seven or eight days. Here we took two boats, the one a passenger we bulged, the other we towed at our ship's stern, steering S. S. W. for the islands of Cape Verde. Therehence we set sail Feb. 28th, keeping a W. S. W. course. In this passage we found very smooth seas, fair weather, and steady winds, blowing ordinarily between the E. and N. E. points. Near thirty leagues from these islands we came into a grown sea, the swollen waters making a strange noise, and hurtling together as if it might be two strong currents encountering each other. March 12th we sounded, and had sandy ground in forty-seven fathom. At midnight in twelve fathom we came to an anchor, the ground sandy oaze. Sunday the 14th toward night, about some six leagues from the shore, we descried a low land in the bottom of a bay. From Match 9th until this time we kept for the most part a S. S. W. course. The water in this place is smooth but muddy, and the colour red or tawny. From the westermost of the Cape Verde-islands unto this bay I do estimate the distance to be near five hundred and fifty leagues. It seemed to most of our seamen to be the very bank of a shoal upon a lee-shore; the rather because without it, in the clean green sea we had but seven fathom depth; but after, by proof, finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest near the land, we always at night sought to anchor in three or four fathom. And doubtless as the hand of God is wonderful in all his works, so herein his merciful providence is most admirable, that upon a lee-shore subject unto a perpetual easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foul heavy water is not capable of vehement

hement motion, and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them. Nor is there any jeopardy in being wind-bound, or imbayed; for the most forcible winds make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinary course of ebb, do grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. We by turning went clear of all bays; howbeit, in this case, as also in the rivers, the use of a drove-sail seemeth a good and ready help. The first place wherein we anchored, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a fair and great river. It standeth in one degree and forty minutes; for we fell so far to the southward by Your Lordship's direction. The bar without, hath, at the least, three fathom, at the shoalest place, when it is low ebb. The depth within is eight and ten fathom. The water always brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place near the sea-coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their towns, captains, and commodities, that their countries do yield, as also the soundings, tides, and how the coast lieth, &c.; thinking it fittest to reduce these disjoined and scattered remembrances to one place. As we passed we always kept the shore within view and stopped the floods, still anchoring at night in three or four fathom. When we came to the north headland of this bay, (which we named Cape Cecil) we saw two high mountains like two islands, but they join with the main.

In this tract, lying N. N. W. near sixty leagues, there fall into the sea these several great rivers: Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. We anchored in two fathom not far from these hills, and filled all our casks with fresh water by the ship-side, for in the sea thirty miles from the mouth of any river it is fresh and good. This second bay extendeth itself above thirty leagues to the westward, and containeth within it these rivers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here, leaving the ship at anchor, I took into the boat John Provost, my Indian interpreter, John Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these rivers, and to seek speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foot of the eastermost moun-

mountain, where the river falleth into the sea, we found twenty or thirty houses, but not inhabited. We staid there but one night. Wanari we overpassed, because the entrance is rocky and not deep. In Caperwacka we sailed some forty miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their ports under the side of a hill, we took in so much brasil-wood as our boat could carry. Among other trees we cut down one for an example, which I do verily believe to be the same sort of cinnamon, which is found in the straits of Magellan. From Caperwacka we passed to Cawo, and there met with a canoe, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before we could procure them to come near us, for they doubted least we were Spanish. When my interpreter had persuaded them the contrary, and that we came from England, they, without farther speech or delay, brought us to Wareo their captain, who entertained us most friendly, and then at large declared unto us, that he was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour-rivers to Raleana or Orenoque; and that having burnt his own houses, and destroyed his fruits and gardens, he had left his country and towns to be possessed by the Arwaccas, who are a vagabond nation of Indians, which, finding no certain place of abode of their own, do for the most part serve and follow the Spaniards. He shewed me, that he was of the nation of the Iaos, who are a mighty people, and of a late time were lords of all the sea-coast so far as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a general consent, when the Spaniards first began to borrow some of their wives, they all agreed to change their habitation, and do now live united for the most part toward the river of Amazones. But the especial cause of his present remove was, because two or three years past twenty Spaniards came to his town, and sought to take his best wife from him; but before they carried her away, he at time and place of advantage killed half of them; the rest fled, most of them sore hurt. Now, in this case he thought it best to dwell far enough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth near the head of Dessekebe, is one of this man's subjects;

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by whom (as it may seem) he hath taken good notice of our princess and country. For he descended more particularly to inquire what forces were come with us, assuring me of the Spaniards being in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friends, betwixt hope and fear, have earnestly expected our return from England these four or five months. When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards alive to annoy them; that we now came only to discover and trade with them; and that if Her Majesty should have sent a power of men where no enemy was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine that we came rather to invade, than to defend them: he replied, that this course very well sorted with the report which they had heard of our princess' justice, rare graces, and virtues; the fame of whose power in being able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodness in undertaking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so general that the nations far and near were all agreed to join with us, and by all means possible to assist us in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land; and that we were deceived if we thought this country not large enough to receive us, without molestation or intrusion upon the Indians, who wanted not choice of dwelling-places, if they forsook one to live in another; but stood in need of our presence at all times to aid them, and maintain their liberty, which to them is dearer than land or living. He then farther desired, that he with his people might have our favour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enjoy their grounds and houses, had taken from them many of their wives and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they lived, to live in perpetual slavery under the Spaniards. We put him in good hope and comfort thereof; and he, to deserve some part of this friendship, commended unto us an elderly man to be our pilot in bringing us to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any vrapo, which is the wood that is usually carried from these parts to Trinidad in canoes, and is there sold to the French for trade; he offered, if we would bring our ship near his port, to put in her lading thereof. But because most

of our casks were not iron-bound, and, in making stowage-way, to remove them would have been the loss of our cyder and other drink, I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunity, thinking it sufficient at this time to have only my boat's lading thereof; which afterward in extremity of foul weather, before we could yet aboard our ship, we were enforced in a dark night to heave all overboard, thinking ourselves happy to have recovered thither at seven days' end, with safety of life only. All which time we could nowhere set foot on shore, but rested day and night wet and weather-beaten in our covertless boat, which was sometimes ready to sink under us. For we had in this place without comparison more rain, wind, and gusts, than elsewhere at any time. To be brief, my men became weak and sick, and if we had staid any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of us had ever come aboard again. I afterward understood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for most part of the year usual near the island Oncaiarie, which lieth north from the river Capurwacka some six leagues into the sea; and that they hold opinion how this island is kept by some evil spirit; for they verily believe, that to sleep in the day-time near it (except it be after much drink) is present death. The only season wherein little rain doth fall there is (as I gathered by their speech, they dividing all times by their moons) at our winter solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the northward of the east, except when the sun is on this side of the equinoctial, for then it often veers southerly, but most in the night. This our guide is of the Iaos, who do all mark themselves, thereby to be known from other nations, after this manner. With the tooth of a small beast like a rat they rase some their faces, some their bodies, after divers forms, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can never be done away again during life. When he had sometime conversed with our Indians that went from England with us, he became willing to see our country. His sufficiency, trustiness, and knowledge, is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana do take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many ways able to stead

stead Your Lordship in your designs and purposes. For beside his precise knowledge of all the coast, and of the Indian towns and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a sworn brother to Putima, who slew the Spaniards in their return from Manoa, can direct us to many gold mines, and in nothing will undertake more than he assuredly will perform.

To the westward this bay hath many good roads under small islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios; and beside the plenty of fowl, fish, fruits, wild porks and deer, which are there to be had, where Caiane falls into the sea (for it standeth in the mouths of Wia and Caiane) it yields safe and good harbour in four and five fathom for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it; we therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road under Triangle Islands, which are the westermost from the rest, and stand in five degrees, which have also store of fish, fowl, deer, and Iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all winds and weather, ships, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hills and high lands are limits to this bay on each side; for to the eastward beyond it appear none at all, and to the westward of Mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountains fail, there brasil-wood is no farther to be sought for; but in all parts cotton, pepper, silk, and balsamum-trees do grow in abundance. The roots of the herb wiapassa are here most plentiful; I find them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable against the flux and head-ach. These rivers, as also others nearer Raleana, do all fall out of the plains of this empire over rocks, as the river Caroli doth into Raleana; and in most places within the utmost hedge of woods, the land within is plain, void of trees, and beareth short grass like Arromaiarie's country.

Next adjoining unto these are the rivers Cunanamma, Vracco, Mawari, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwari, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari,

Lemdrare, Dessekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waim, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecil to Raleana the coast trendeth two hundred leagues next hand west-north-west. In this variety of goodly rivers, Amonna among the rest poureth himself into the sea in a large and deep channel; his swiftness suffereth no bar, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soever they be; within his mouth for good and hopeful respects is Port Burley placed.

The inhabitants that dwell eastward do never pass lower than Berbice to trade. Above Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of honey. Farther to the eastward than Dessekebe no Spaniard ever travelled. In which respect, and that no sea-card that I have seen at any time, doth in any sort near a truth describe this coast, I thought the liberty of imposing English names to certain places of note of right to belong unto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth itself gratefully to acknowledge the honour due unto them that have been, and I hope will still continue favourers of this enterprise. The Indians, to shew the worthiness of Dessekebe (for it is very large, and full of islands in the mouth) do call it the brother of Orenoque. It lieth southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it unto the head they pass in twenty days; then taking their provision they carry it on their shoulders one day's journey; afterward they return for their canoes, and bear them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime; which is of such bigness that they know no difference between it and the main sea. There be infinite numbers of canoes in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other than that whereon Manoa standeth: in this river, which we now call Devoritia, the Spaniards do intend to build them a town. In Moruga it was that they hunted Wareo and his people, about half a year since. Arromaiarie, who won so great credit by overthrowing the Tivitivas of Amana, and making free the passage of that river (but now again liveth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa have killed most of his followers, and burnt his towns) was present with them, and took away many of the women of that place.

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Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo's company, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita and the Caraccas, with whom Santiago, forsaking his governor Berreo, joined himself. For which fact he now lieth in fetters at Trinidad, every day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.

When Berreo, having lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone as forlorn, and never likely to compass his intended conquest of Guiana, the governors of the Caraccas and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speed into Spain to advertise their king, that Berreo was utterly unable to follow this enterprise, that he had given it over, and did now sojourn in his old days at Fasshardo's house, minding nothing else but his solace and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was; and that an English gentleman of such reckoning as they named Your Lordship to be, having been in Guiana, and understanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adjoining, as Topiawarie, being both old and wise, could inform you of, who also in confirmation of friendship had given you his only son, to whom the inheritance of the country did belong after him; there was no other likelihood, but that you who adventured so far, and in such sort as you did, only to see and know a certainty, would leave nothing unattempted to possess so rich a country, and without all doubt would return presently. That meantime you had left this aged sire alive to be a block in their way, to whom after his decease this enterprise by patent did belong, and to be a weak adversary against yourself, whom at all times you knew easily how to distress; and that therefore it might be behoveful for His Majesty to revoke Berreo's grant, and to use their service, who were ready and willing without any delay to undertake the charge. These news being at large amplified, and delivered to the king, Domingo de Vera, Berreo's camp-master, who was sent into Spain five months

months before your arrival at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantity of gold gotten out of Guiana to levy and furnish five hundred men, having gotten knowledge of this practice, so solicited this cause in Berreo's behalf, that present order was given for the victualling and manning of ten ships to be sent to Berreo. And farther, this gold bore such weight, that the king commanded other eighteen of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies.

Berreo, supposing that these governors, in sending with such speed into Spain, meant him no good, to approve his care and constancy, and that he never would yield under the burthen of his adverse fortune; giving no time or breath to his adversaries nor himself, returned forthwith to Carapana's port only with fifteen men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These governors followed him, and assuring themselves of present employment from their king, pre-occupating the time of their directions to be returned from Spain, entered Guiana with their men with full determination to murder Berreo, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreo fled toward Caroli, where he stayed hoping for succour from his son Antonie de Ximenes, to come down the river from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes, with their accomplices, busied themselves, some in searching the country, others in purveying victuals out of the rivers that do lie eastward, of which number these were that entered into Moruga with twenty canoes. Santiago passed up into Topiawarie's country, and there took Francis Sparrow, Sir George Gifford's man, prisoner, who with plenty of gold ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and began to build their town there, when unhappily to their small comfort the eight and twenty sail arrived, and took Santiago prisoner. The other actors in this interlude vanished, and in canoes recovered Margarita and Cumana again. Eighteen of the said ships leaving all things in good order, departed

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from Trinidad to follow their other directions; ten do yet remain fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our coming.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, servant to Berreo, that could speak Spanish, whom I took in the river. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred up with Berreo. I gave him trade to buy him a canoe to return into his country, and so left him glad that he had met with us.

Now the Indians of Moruga, being chased from their dwellings, do seek by all means possible to accord all the nations in one, so to invade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in shewing their towns, and betraying them. For they are fully persuaded, that by driving these Arwaccas, who serve the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not know them) out of their territories and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread will be enforced to seek habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wasted.

April 6th, we came to an anchor within the mouth of the river Raleana, having spent twenty and three days in discovery upon this coast. The channel of this river hath six or seven fathom depth nine or ten miles off at sea, the bar lieth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathom. It highs not above five foot, except at a spring-tide. We anchored in ten fathom the first night; the next morning twelve canoes came unto us, furnished and provided of victuals after their manner for the wars. Their captains' names were Anwara and Aparwa. These cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the inland among the Iwarewakeri their neighbours, by which occasion having lost some of their wives (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianity, some of these Spaniards keep ten or twelve women, thinking themselves well and surely blessed, howsoever they live, if their town and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together thirty canoes, hoping at our coming, which they had now long expected, to recover this loss upon them and the Arwaccas, who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me this their purpose, and required

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to be joined in league of friendship with us against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the country as they did know, they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with us, but only one ship. I answered them as before I did the others, that we now came only to trade, not knowing until this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that upon our return our whole fleet will hasten to set forward, and that, in the mean time, we would now visit our friends, and help them so far as we could in any thing that we should find needful presently to be done. After long discourse (for their chief man stayed with me all night) when he had caused me to spit in my right-hand, with many other ceremonies which they use in confirming friendship, he went to the shore, and one of his canoes he sent to bring forward the other twenty; one other he caused to go up the river before us to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chief of his company, they made small fires, and sitting in their hamacas, or Indian beds, each one sorted himself with his companion, recounting among themselves the worthiest deeds, and deaths of their ancestors, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friends with all titles of praises and honour that may be devised. Thus they sit talking and taking tobacco some two hours, and until their pipes be all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemn conference) no man must interrupt or disturb them in any sort; for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the Great Princess of the North, their patroness and defender. Their canoes being made ready they accompanied us, and in their way shewed us where the shoals of the river do lie.

By this captain I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the country where Macureguarai, the first town of the empire of Guiana that lieth toward Raleana, is seated in a fair and exceeding large plain, below the nigh mountains, that bear north-westerly from it; that it is but three days journey distant from Carapana's port, and that Manoa is but six days farther. That they themselves do pass in three days into the country of the Iwarewakeri by the river Amacur, which, though

though it be not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguarai, for that which leadeth to Carapana's dwelling, is in some places difficult and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, do dwell not far from the place where the river doth first take the name of Orenoque, and that far within, they border upon a sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great river, called Macurwini, passeth through their country into Orenoque. That Manoa standeth twenty days journey from the mouth of Wiapoco, sixteen days from Barima, thirteen days from Amacur, and ten days from Aratoori. That the best way unto it, is not by Macureguarai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high up in Orenoque, know most of the inland, and of those nations, and they speak no other language, than such as John your interpreter doth well understand. He certified me of the headless men, and that their mouths in their breasts are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes' language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I have heard of a sort of people more monstrous, I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficulty to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appear fabulous. Lastly, he told me of an inland river, named Cawrooma, adjoining to Aratoori and that the Quepyn mountains, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos have images of gold of incredible bigness, and great store of unmanned horses, of the Caraccas' breed; and they dwell five days journey up the river about Caroli. We with our fleet of canoes were now not far from Carapana's port, when our intelligencer returned, and informed us that ten Spaniards were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy cassavi-bread; and that within one day two other canoes of Spaniards were appointed to come by the river Amana to Carapana's port.

Upon this occasion they took counsel, and in the end, desired to return to their houses, lest the Spaniards finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselves, should take away their wives and spoil their dwellings. They farther resolved, if it were possible, to cut them off, which afterward they did per-

form. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking cassavi, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent us this news as we returned down the river. The two other canoes that came from Trinidad, by Amana, notwithstanding that we kept a league before the ship with our boats, saw the ship before we had sight of them, and presently with all speed went to Berreo to advertise him of our coming. He forthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his canoes met with our spy, whom the Indians of Barima had left to go with us; they rifled him of his victuals, gave him knives, and dismissed him.

In eight days sailing still before a wind, we arrived at Topiawarie's port, in all which time no Indian that we knew came aboard us. For the time of our return promised at Your Lordship's departure from thence being expired, they in despair severed themselves among the other nations. Here the Spaniards have seated their rancheria of some twenty or thirty houses. The high rocky island, that lieth in the midst of the river, against the mouth of Caroli, is their fort or refuge, when they misdoubt safety in their town, or having notice of any practice against them; but now leaving both town and island, they joined themselves altogether, and retiring to the mouth of the river Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your ore and white stones were taken the last year. We all, not without grief to see ourselves thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made void, were witnesses of this their remove. As we rode at an anchor within musket-shot of their town, an Indian came unto us, with lean cheeks, thin hair, and a squint eye, to inform us that they were very strong, that Berreo's son was with him, that they had but two small pinnaces at Trinidad, which they daily looked for to come up the river; and lastly, to view our ship well, and our provision, but especially to learn whether Gualtero, Topiawarie's son, were with us.

This informer's very countenance gave him to be suspected, and therefore partly by threatening, partly by promise of reward, we won him

him to confess the truth. Which he did, assuring us that Berreo had not full fifty-five men with him, whereof twenty came lately from Trinidad, twenty from Nuevo Reyno, and the rest he brought with him about six months since, when he fled from Carapana's port, and was driven with his small company to keep the aforesaid island near Caroli. And that though now his number is thus increased, yet dareth he not adventure at any time to leave the fast woods, and to go but half a league from his hold into the plains. That some few of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That he daily looketh for his son from Nuevo Reyno, for his camp-master from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead; the Indians of that coast all fled and dispersed, excepting the son of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whom the Spaniards hold prisoners for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy friar in Morekito's time. This Curmatoi is fled toward Guanipa, and is a man of special note among the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero's near kinsman hath held the country to his use by his father's appointment, ever since your being in the river. That there are ten ships and many Spaniards at Trinidad. That the Indians our friends did fear least you with your company were all slain, and your ships sunk at Cumana, (for so the Spaniards noised it among them), that some of Gualtero's friends with Putyma, were in the mountains not far from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had sent for six pieces of ordnance, which he meant to plant where they might best command the river.

When we had stayed here two days, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harm's way doing nothing would be bootless; I resolved to seek Putyma in the mountains, and turning down the river with the force of the stream some twenty miles in six hours; the next morning with ten shot I went ashore, intending if the Indians should think themselves too weak with our help to displant the Spaniards; to set some of them on work for hatchets and knives, to return us gold grains and white stones from such places as they should be directed unto. When we

came to the place of their usual abode, we saw that they lately had been there, but could speak with none of them. It may be that fear (which is easy of belief) persuaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert, my pilot, here offered to bring us either to the mine of white stones, near Winicapora, or else to a gold-mine, which Putyma had shewed him, being but one day's journey overland from the place where we now stayed at an anchor. I saw, far off, the mountain adjoining to this gold-mine, and having measured their paths near the same place this last year, could not judge it to be fifteen miles from us. I do well remember, how coming that way with Putyma the year before, he pointed to this same mountain, making signs to have me go with him thither. I understood his signs, and marked the place, but mistook his meaning, imagining that he would have shewed me the overfal of the river Curwara from the mountains. My Indian shewed me in what sort, without digging, they gather the gold in the sand of a small river, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rocks where this mine is. And farther told me, that he was with Putyma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniards, and that then the chief of Morekito's friends were in consultation, to shew this mine unto them if so they might redeem their captain's life: but upon better advice, supposing them in this case to be implacable, and that this might prove a means to lose not only their king, but their country also, they have to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest and most plentiful. The aged sort to keep this from common knowledge, have devised a fable of a dangerous dragon that haunteth this place, and devoureth all that come near it. But our Indian, if when we return, we do bring store of strong wine (which they love beyond measure) with it will undertake so to charm this dragon, that he shall do us no harm.

I, that for this end came from home, and in this journey had taken much more pains to less purpose, would very gladly from this mountain have taken so good a proof to witness my being in the country; but withal, considering that not one Indian of our known friends came unto us; that Don Juan, the cousin of Gualtero, who liveth here,

here, a revolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to be chief commander of all the Indian forces in these parts, cannot in policy, for Gualtero's sake, whose inheritance he sought to usurp, be a fast friend unto us; that the Spaniards abiding in Winicapora, (for there were ten) might well, before we could do anything and return, cause some others of Berreo's men to join with them in the way to intercept us; and forethinking withal, that there being no means, but ourselves, to make known our discovery, if we returned not, in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would be buried. But beside all this, and the respect of such spials as the Spaniards kept to observe our doings, foreknowing that if the enemy should, by our lingering, stop our passage, which, in one or two places of advantage, few of them might easily do, it would be a question how with our ship to get out of the river, except first we could remove them, I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seek in time to be free from the hazard of the aforesaid evil passages.

While we were searching at the shore for the Indians, my barge took a canoe, with three men in her, the one a servant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two merchants of cassavi. They had a letter sent from the governor to be conveyed to Trinidad, which I received. There was also a great hatchet and twenty knives, wherewith this Indian servant should buy a canoe, and hire Indians to carry her up the river toward Nuevo Reyno. This canoe forsooth, with four other were to be sent to bring down Berreo's son with all his forces, which now have been, I think, full three years in preparing. If five such boats be sufficient to convey him, his men, and all their provision, it may seem he cometh with no great strength.

This servant as he was a man of especial trust, and near Berreo, so appeared he to have some insight in his proceedings. He shewed me that the Indians, who with these knives should be hired, were to pass up so high, as where some of the Cassanari do dwell in small villages. That Berreo's purpose was, when they came thither to leave them there, and make them officers over the other Indians; and in their places some of the Cassanari should return, who likewise should be made

made justices and constables over them of Guiana. That from Trinidad he meant to remove most of the old inhabitants that would be tractable, and interpose them among the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possess Trinidad, and the river-side of Raleana. That they already were provided of threescore negroes to work the mines in these places. And that by this means Berreo hoped to keep these several nations in mutual enmity each against other, all to serve his turn, and never to become strong, or likely to join themselves against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawarie, soon after our departure from the river, fled into the mountains, carrying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leaving a substitute in his country, as aforesaid; and that the next news they heard of him was, that he was dead, and the English boy eaten by a tiger. That the Spaniards believe neither the one nor the other. That about the end of June, when the river shall be impassable, the ten ships shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo ever since his coming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purveying of victuals, whereof there is such scarcity, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses have not this half year planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniards are enforced to seek their bread far off, and content themselves to live with little.

In sailing up the river we passed by Toparimacko's port, which in one place is very shoaly, the channel lying close aboard the shore. We returned therefore another way by the main river on the south-side; this branch we found large, deep, and without danger. When we were come near Carapana's port, he sent five or six several canoes, promising this day and the next, that he would come and speak with us. Thus we lingered six or seven days, but he came not. In the end he sent one of his aged followers to certify us, that he was sick, old, and weak; that the ways near his dwelling are not easy; and that therefore he desired us to hold him excused for not coming. This old man dilated unto us, that Carapana, in hope of our return, hath ever since Your Lordship's being in that country kept the

the mountains, where the Spaniards can hardly any way enforce him; that they have taken from him and his people many of their wives, because they refused to furnish them weekly with a certain proportion of bread and victuals; that Don Juan, otherwise called Eparacano, hath the commandment of all his subjects, excepting only a choice guard of men sufficient to keep the place he now dwelleth in; that it repenteth him of his ambition, ever to have sought by the Spaniards' means to have enlarged his countries and people. For true it is, that from the beginning he was a lord of no other than ordinary power among them, until he had entered into friendship with Berreo; for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and many their commanders to become his subjects, that they might have the privilege to trade with the Spaniards for hatchets and knives, which are jewels of great price among them; that he now saw no other choice but that the Indians must, if they will do well, without farther dissembling of their necessity, either entertain us their friends, or else give place to the Spaniards their enemies. For the plenty of gold that is in this country being now known and discovered, there is no possibility for them to keep it; on the one side they could feel no greater misery, nor fear more extremity, than they were sure to find if the Spaniards prevailed, who perforce do take all things from them, using them as their slaves to run, to row, to be their guides, to carry their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to be content for safety of their lives, to leave their women if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancy her; on the other side they could hope for, nor desire no better state and usage than Her Majesty's gracious government and princely virtues do promise and assure unto them. For, said he, the other year when we fled into the mountains, and measured your doings by the Spaniards' in like case, we made no other account, but that your commander being able, as he was, would doubtless have persecuted us to the uttermost, as the only maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if he could not reach us, take our towns, and make us ransom our wives and children;

dren; we found it far otherwise, and that none of your well-governed company durst offer any of us wrong or violence, no, not by stealth, when unknown they might have done it. We then believing it to be true, that your grand captain reported of his princess, took this for a good proof of her royal commandment and wisdom, that had framed her subjects to such obedience, and of your happiness, that enjoyed the benefit thereof; that Carapana, weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doth humbly crave of Her Majesty for himself and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depend on her princely regard toward them, he also may enjoy her favourable protection; that he doth this, not as a man left unto himself and forsaken by the Spaniards, but as one that knoweth their injustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choice utterly to disclaim their friendship. It may be pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider how this president of your moderation and good order, which to us seemeth a matter but of small and ordinary respect, hath both alienated their hearts altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred up in them true love and admiration thereof. For as government is the only bond of common society, so to men lawless, that each one to another are, *omnes hoc jure molesti, quo fortes:* to men, I say, that live in daily tumults, fears, doubts, suspicions, barbarous cruelties, never sleeping secure, but always either drunk or practising one another's death; to such men as these be, who, wanting discipline, justice, and good order, to confirm them in a quiet and peaceable course of living, knowing not where to find it, the sense and sweetness thereof is as the dew of Hermon; it is as the harmony of a well-tuned instrument; to be brief, it carrieth in itself not only a due and worthy commendation, but is available without stroke striking to gain a kingdom. For the Indians in all parts within and near Guiana do offer their service, and promise to provide victual, and what else their country yieldeth, desiring only that some force of men may remain with them, to deliver them from oppression and tyranny. And now by general consent (though hatchets and knives be the only

only things of request, and useful unto them) they have agreed by no means to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Farther this old man shewed me, whence most of their gold cometh which is formed into so many fashions; whence their spleen-stones, and others of all sorts are to be had in plenty; where gold is to be gathered in the sands of their rivers; from what parts the Spaniards both by trade and otherwise, have returned much gold. This he uttered with Carapana's consent, (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce us to return again. For, contrary to their law of secrecy, which in this case they do all generally observe, sharply punishing the breakers thereof as enemies unto their native country; I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and liberal of speech in all things.

And because we might know, that we should not want hands or help in this or any other our enterprises, if perhaps we should find cause to pass up to the head of this river, he declared that the Spaniards have no Indians to trust unto but some of the Arwaccas, which, since they were not many, could be but of small force; that the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawanas among the Tivitivas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Cassipagotos, Purpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations far and near, were all ready on what side soever the Spaniards shall stir to fight against them; that the Pariagotos, through whose country they must first pass, are alone sufficient to encounter them, such is the strength of their country, and the valour of the men. The Indians hold opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and invulnerable. In the mountains where they dwell white stones are found of such hardness, that by no art or means they can be pierced; they imagine that these Pariogotos become invulnerable by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily they may prove good diamonds.

Then he shewed how the Iwarewakeri have nourished grass in all places where passage is these three years, and that it is at this present so high as some of the trees; which they mean to burn so soon as the Spaniard shall be within danger thereof. Lastly, he shewed

that Wariarimagoto, the emperor's chief captain for those parts, hath gathered together many thousands of the Epuremei to keep the borders of the empire; and that he lay now on the south-side of the mountains, some one day's journey, or little more, from the Spaniard. To be short, he certified me, that they all were resolved not to seek upon them (for indeed they fear their shot) but to defend their own, and to expect our coming. In the meantime they take opportunities, when they find any of them straggling or divided from their strength, by little and little to lessen their number.

The place where we were at anchor was but one day's journey from Carapana; I therefore made motion to this captain to stay with two or three of his company aboard the ship, and to cause his men to bring me with my interpreter to Carapana's dwelling; he answered me, that it were not good so to do least perhaps some spy might inform the Spaniards thereof, whereby danger would grow to Carapana. For they have many times used many means to reconcile him unto them; but he from time to time hath dallied with them, neither professing himself their enemy, nor in aught shewing them any friendship. Now, (said he) if the Spaniards shall by any means come to knowledge that you have conferred together, they will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremity as their open enemy, whom they now neglect, or at the least fear not, as being an harmless old man. And for this cause only hath Carapana forborn to come unto you.

By this I perceived, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could have been content to spend one se'nnight more to speak with him) would be purposeless. Wherefore, having assured so many of the Indians as at any time came unto us of our speedy return, promising them plenty of knives, beads, and hatchets, if they would reserve their cassavi, and provide store of their pieces of gold for us; I desired this captain to be a means that our friends of Trinidad might understand of our being in the river, and that we meant to relieve them so soon as conveniently might be. He promised in Carapana's behalf, that this should not be forgotten.

One

One of the captains of the Cyawanas, who do now dwell in the river Arawawo near Trinidad, undertook also without fail to ascertain them thereof. I was the more careful herein, because so many ships being here, I doubted lest they would take order that no Indian should speak with us. For so indeed it fell out.

This captain of the Cyawanas came likewise to join with us, and had provided fifteen canoes for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniards one night stealing on them killed twenty of their men, and burnt their houses, because they refused to trade with them for certain images of gold made with many heads, which they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a present of iron to Carapana, and then set sail.

In turning down the river we spent eight days. In many places where the channel lieth we found twenty fathom depth; where it is shoalest we had two fathom and a half, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthiness of this river, because I cannot say enough, I will speak nothing. We have presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because yourself was the first of our nation that ever entered the same, and I think it nothing inferior to Amazones, which is best known by the name of Orellana, the first discoverer thereof. By turning only, without help of oars to pass so long a way in so short a time, against the wind, may sufficiently prove that the channel is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that we can desire. Without the mouth of this river our pinnace, the Discoverer, whom we lost near the coast of England, came unto us. She fell with this land somewhat to the southward of Cape Cecil, and had spent three weeks and odd days in ranging along the coast when she met with us. William Downe, the master, informed me that they entered and searched these four rivers. In Wiapoco they sailed so far, until the rocks stopped their passage. In Caiane they went up one day's journey. In Cunanama they found many inhabitants. Curitini was the last river they had been in. Whence, having no other means to find Raleana, they were enforced to borrow a pilot

against his will, whom afterward I would have returned with reward to his contentment, but he would not.

Our English, that to steal the first blessing of an untraded place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may be beholden to me for this caveat if they take notice thereof. They may be assured, that this people, as they noway sought our harm, but used our men with all kindness, so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to have any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtless seek revenge. The example of the like practice upon the coast of Guinea, in the year 1566, and again at Dominica, where alderman Wats' ship hardly escaped being taken, may serve for our warning in like case to look for no good, before they be satisfied for this injury.

When we had taken aboard us such victuals as were in the pinnace, we set fire in her, (for her rudder could serve her to no longer use) and stopping the floods, plied to windward with the ebb near the shore, until we were sixteen leagues to the eastward of the river's mouth, and then standing off to sea we fell in twenty-four hours' sailing with Punta de Galera, the north-eastermost part of Trinidad. But having Tobaco Island in sight we first went thither. This island is plentiful of all things, and a very good soil. It is not now inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are evil neighbours unto it. They of Trinidad have a meaning and purpose to fly thither, when no longer they can keep Trinidad. Their only doubt is, that when they are seated there the Spaniard will seek to possess it also. The governor of Margarita went lately in a pinnace to view this island. Gilbert, my pilot, who sometime lived there, noteth it for the best and fruitfulest ground that he knoweth.

Thence we returned to Punta de Galera, and anchored in ten fathom under the north-side of the island some five or six miles from the said point. The flood-tide striketh along the coast to the eastward very strongly. We discharged a piece of ordnance, and afterward went to the shore in our boat; but no Indian came unto us. I would have sent John of Trinidad to procure some of them to speak with

with us; but he was altogether unwilling, alledging that their dwellings were far within the mountains, and that he knew no part of that side of the island. From this place we set sail for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which we found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recovered, by turning under the lee of the island. The tobacco of this place is good; but the Indians being canibals, promising us store, and delaying us from day to day, sought only opportunity to betray, take, and eat us, as lately they had devoured the whole company of a French ship. This their treachery being by one of their slaves revealed, from thenceforth they did all forbear to come unto us. To sit down on their low stools, when they by offering such ease will seem to shew courtesy, abodeth death to strangers that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, we came to Dominica, where we could get no good tobacco. But having intelligence of a Spanish ship that was taking in of fresh water at the north-west side of the island, we weighed anchor to seek him. He, descrying us, stole away by night. The Indians of this place have determined to remove, and join with them of Guanipa against the Spaniards, who lately dispeopled one of their islands; and at our being there one of their canoes returned from Guanipa, and certified us, that the ten Spanish ships at Trinidad do ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small islands near the disemboging place. Herehence we steered north and by east, taking the directest course to shorten our way homeward.

Thus have I emptied your purse, spending my time and travel in following Your Lordship's directions for the full discovery of this coast, and the rivers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your private profit, I pretend nothing. Sorry I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniards being there, I found my defect remediless. And for mine own part I do protest, that if the consideration of the public good that may ensue, had not overpoised all other hopes and desires, I would rather have adventured by such small and weak means as I had, to do well with danger, than to return

turn only with safety. Now, although in a cause not doubtful, my allegation is noway needful; yet, because the weightiness thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claim something to be said by me, whom your especial trust and favour hath credited and graced with this employment, pardon it, (I beseech Your Honour) if, where my lamp had oil, it borrow light also; and my speech, which is altogether unsavory, season itself with some of the leaven of your own discourse touching this discovery. The particular relation of some certain things I have reserved as properly belonging to yourself, who only, as knowing most, can make best use thereof. So much in general is here touched, as (I hope) may serve to refresh the memory of this worthy enterprise in those whom it may concern, and testify your care and expence in following the same. That in a second age, when in time truth shall have credit, and men, wondering at the riches and strength of this place, (which nature itself hath marvellously fortified, as her chief treasure-house) shall mourn and sigh to hold idle sickles, while others reap and gather in this harvest, it be not said that Sir Walter Ralegh was of all men living in his days most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulness of an inestimable public good; if (knowing that for envy and private respects, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others) if, (I say) seeing, knowing, and hearing all this, he with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his princess and country service, and had but perfected his first discovery by sending a ship or two for that purpose. For then surely all lets and doubts being removed, and so large a kingdom, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to be, being offered; no devices and vain surmises could have taken place, no illusions could have prevailed; it had been blindness and deafness in those, that being near Her Majesty do spend their days in serving the commonweal, not to see and know in so weighty a matter; it had been malicious obstinacy, impotence of mind, and more than treason to the commonwealth, the matter standing only upon

upon acceptance, to seek either to foreslow so fit an occasion, or forsake so general a blessing. This (if) is now cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in overcoming evil with good.

This your second discovery hath not only found a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the naturals call Orenoque, but moreover yieldeth choice of forty several great rivers, (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels navigable for our merchants and others, that do now find little profit in setting forth for reprisal to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to adventure in search of them I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certain assurance of pieces of made gold, of spleen-stones, kidney-stones, and others of better estimate. But because our belief seemeth to be mated in these greater matters, and a certainty of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weak hopes, I, not going so far as mine own eyes might warrant me, do only promise in the aforesaid rivers brasil-wood, honey, cotton, balsamum, and drugs, to help to defray charges; and farther, because without a beginning there can be no continuance of these benefits unto our country to any that shall be the first undertakers hereof, I am gladly content, to give such light and knowledge as by conference with the Indians I have attained unto.

Myself and the remain of my few years I have bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts live only in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in itself just, profitable, and necessary. Just, because it is intended for the defence of harmless people, who, fearing thraldom and oppression, desire to protect themselves and their country under Her Majesty's tuition. Profitable, as may be gathered not only by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofs mentioned in the discourse of the first discovery, and since that by the Indians' own voluntary relations; and lastly, by the provision that the Spaniards do make to acquit us thereof. Necessary it is, as being the only help to put a bit in the mouth of the unbridled Spaniard; the only way to enter into his treasury of Nuevo Reyno and Peru; the only means to animate the wronged Indians, with our assistance

assistance to seek revenge for the extreme murders and cruelties which they have endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the inland, whose foundations have been laid in the blood of their parents and ancestors.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already sent to Trinidad to fortify there, and keep the passage of this river, are an evident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequel of this discovery. For, can it be a small matter, or, hath he so waste employment for his men and shipping, that upon no ground he would send eight and twenty ships to keep us only from tobacco? For what else that good is can Trinidad yield us? No, doubtless, if the return of Berreo's camp-master, with ten of these ships be compared with precedent advertisements concerning him, it will appear more than probable, that the Guiana gold waged these men and shipping, and that they are now more careful to obtain this place, than to keep others which they have already gotten; which note, except in matters of extraordinary account, is not incident to their policy and proceedings. Again, it cannot be thought that either it was senseless madness in the governors of Margarita and the Caraccas, to bring their states and lives in question, by seeking, contrary to their king's order, to enter Guiana and kill Berreo with his followers: or else the abundance of pearl in Magarita, and the gold mines in the Caraccas, seeming matters of small account: Guiana only was in their judgment, rich, plentiful, and able of itself to redeem their trespass and offence, how great soever it should be.

The sundry attempts and overthrows of the Spaniards, being men of power and honourable place, in labouring threescore and three years and upward to enlarge the kingdom of Spain with this mighty and great empire, do plainly shew that they long time sought a path, where in one month a highway was found. That the loss of their lives witnesseth their desires, and the worthiness of the thing, where to us the easiness of obtaining discrediteth the greatness of the attempt. And that if now at the last they do prevail, they must hold by tyranny that which they get by the sword; where than our re-

turn

turn nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

Those objections which have been made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they have supposed, are best answered by the unreproved witness of those men's actions. Some have termed these discoveries fables and fantasies, as if there had been no such land or territory; others, allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdom or country is discovered, make conclusion, that if it had been so rich as we have supposed, that no doubt the king of Spain would by this time have possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and provinces, we may very well answer, that his power is not infinite, and that he hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath been by all those several Spaniards (the catalogue of whose names is by itself hereunto annexed) at sundry times undertaken, and never performed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancy and their great labours, and we may well blush at our own idle, despairful, and loitering dispositions, that can find ability in another barren and starved nation, to possess so much of the world, and can do nothing but frame arguments against ourselves, as unfit and powerless to possess one province already discovered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the people's love, and that all the chieftains and principals have vowed their obedience to Her Majesty; the navigation being withal so short, dangerless, and free from infectious sickness. If doubt of perils might moderate the minds of our men once moved with steadfast hope, that gold shall be the reward of their travels, it may easily be perceived, that all those lets and hinderances that can anyway be alledged, or wrested so much as but to touch us, do deeply and nearly concern the Spanish king, and in a manner violently withold him from that, which he notwithstanding carrieth with success; while we out of season do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian

threw down before Alexander the Great, a dry sear piece of leather, and then put his foot on one of the ends of it; the leather being trod down at that side, rose on all parts else. By this the wise man did shew unto him a figure and similitude of his kingdom, which being exceeding large, must of necessity in all other parts, excepting the place of the king's residence, be always full of stirs, tumults, and insurrections. The end afterward confirmed, that this empire consisting of sundry nations could not keep itself from dissolution. No potentate living hath or can have so faithful and incorrupt counsellors, as be the examples and histories of forepassed times and ages. We may therefore be bold to think that the governors of the Spanish affairs should mind it, that their king's lustful desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish over all Europe one law, one lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous ungrounded resolution. Considering that many of the neighbour-kingdoms being of equal force in men, or greater than he can make, are settled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselves, and hate to hear the voice of a stranger. It is not unlikely that they in this case should lay before their king the fatal destinies of many worthies, that have been constrained for want of sufficient numbers of their natural subjects, after many years spent in the wars, to retire to their own countries, and have been glad peaceably to hold their own signiories at home, resigning all that unto others which they have gotten abroad by hard adventure, and much effusion of blood.

The king of Spain cannot but discern, that his spacious empires and kingdoms being so many, and so far divided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous body, tied together with cables only. For, take away the traffic of unnecessary commodities transported out of Spain, those huge countries of the Indies having no common link of affinity, law, language, or religion, and being of themselves able to maintain themselves without foreign commerce, are not so simple as not to know their own strength, and to find that they do rather possess Spaniards, than that they are possessed by them. He cannot be ignorant that Spain itself is on all sides environed

vironed with many puissant enemies, mighty and great princes, who, knowing it to be rich without men, confident without reason, proud and adventurous without means sufficient, may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder and disturber of all quietness; and going no further than Spain itself may even there shake the foundation of his long-contrived devices, and in one act redeem the time, controul his aspiring humour, and break the bands in sunder that import servitude and subversion to all the dominions of Christendom. Again, his counsel may well inform him, that to dispeople and disable himself at home, in hope to obtain Guiana, being a country strong of itself, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered unto the English, his contempt toward us would seem so intolerable and despiteful as might be sufficient to provoke us, though otherwise we had no such inclination. If he, unprovided of able helps to effect it, should rest himself on a careless presumption, that we cannot, we dare not, we will not stir in a matter that promiseth us so great benefit, and may so highly offend him, he may be persuaded, that to leave no other succour or safety to his nakedness, but the old stale practice of spreading rumours, and giving out false intelligences of preparations to invade England, thereby to keep us at home; or else of hiring and suborning some Machavellian under-hand by secret conveyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of procuring some wild outlaw to disquiet our tranquillity, is but a poor, weak, and uncertain stay to uphold his estate by. And yet setting suchlike drifts aside, what can be imagined likely to hinder us from prevailing in Guiana, rather than him whose disadvantage is to be encumbered with the selfsame and manifold more impediments, than can any way be supposed with good cause to impeach or divorce us from so profitable an attempt? All this notwithstanding, if the Spanish king, not being able to dissemble his desire, or bear the loss of this one kingdom, putting himself out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualties abroad, be resolved, whatsoever shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to

keep this one iron more in the fire, on no other assurance but a peremptory disdain of prevention: if he appear so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a law among themselves *viis et modis* to thrust for it, and not to hear, conceive, or believe any thing that may dissuade or deter from the conquest thereof; it then appertaineth unto us not to enforce those objections against ourselves, which he with less reason rejecteth as frivolous, since by how much the more earnest he is in following this purpose, by so much the less cause have we to be diverted from it. To such as shall be willing farther to wade in this argument, for brevity's sake I do propose only this bare assertion; that England and Guiana conjoined are stronger and more easily defended, than if England alone should repose herself on her own force and powerfulness. The reasons that might be inferred to prove this need no rational discourse; they are all intimated in the only example of Spain itself, which without the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In sum: it seemeth unto me, that whereas the difficulty of performing this enterprise hath been produced for a discouragement; it were a dull conceit of strange weakness in ourselves to distrust our own power so much, or at least our own hearts and courages, as valuing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent, or yielding that the poor Portuguese hath that mastering spirit and conquering industry above us, as to be able to seat himself among the many mighty princes of the East Indies, to frontier China, to hold in subjection the Philippinas, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the navigation being so tedious and full of peril, to suffer ourselves to be put back for worthless cyphers out of place, without account. All which regions being now also by the late conquest of Portugal entitled to the Spanish king, to whom the colonies of those parts do yet generally refuse to swear fealty and allegiance; and the care depending on him, not only in governing them in the east, so far off, but also of ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, and ill-guarded empires and provinces in the west; it might very well be alledged to the said Spanish king, that it were more

more wisdom for him to assure and fortify some part of those already gotten, than to begin the conquest of Guiana so far separate from the rest of his Indies, in which he hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the natural people are so impetuously bent and opposed; were it not that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not mere wretchedness in us to spend our time, break our sleep, and waste our brains in contriving a cavilling false title to defraud a neighbour of half an acre of land? whereas here whole shires of fruitful rich grounds lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselves unto us, like a fair and beautiful woman, in the pride and flower of desired years.

If we do but consider how unhappily Berreo's affairs, with his assistants, have of late years in our own knowledge succeeded, who can say if the hand of the Almighty be not against them, and that he hath a work in this place, instead of papistry to make the sincere light of his gospel to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall be a royal crown of everlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lord hath plentifully poured on our dread sovereign, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianity in those parts, have in their doings preached nought else but avarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked and sheeplike creatures of God, erecting statues and trophies of victory unto themselves in the slaughters of millions of innocents, doth not the cry of the poor succourless ascend unto the heavens? Hath God forgotten to be gracious to the workmanship of his own hands? Or shall not his judgments in a day of visitation by the ministry of his chosen servant come on these blood-thirsty butchers, like rain into a fleece of wool? *Aliquando manifesta, aliquando occulta, semper justa sunt Dei judicia.*

To leave this digression, it is fit only for a prince to begin and end this work; the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth sovereign power, authority, and commandment. The river of Raleana giveth

giveth open and free passage, any provision that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithstanding, (for once yearly the lands near the river be all drowned) to convey men, horse, munition, and victual, for any power of men that shall be sent thither.

I do speak it on my soul's health, as the best testimony that I can in any cause yield to aver a truth, that having now the second time been in this country, and with the helps of time and leisure well advised myself upon all circumstances to be thought on, I can discern no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, Her Majesty may to her and her successors enjoy this rich and great empire; and having once planted there, may for ever (by the favour of God) hold and keep it, *contra Judæos et Gentes*. Subjects, I doubt not, may, through Her Majesty's gracious suffrance, joining their strength together, invade, spoil, and over-run it, returning with gold and great riches. But what good of perpetuity can follow thereof? or who can hope that they will take any other course than such as tendeth to a private and present benefit? considering that an empire once obtained, is of congruity, how and wheresoever the charge shall grow, to be annexed unto the crown. The riches of this place are not fit for any private estate. No question, they will rather prove sufficient to cross and countervail the Spaniard's proceedings in all parts of Christendom, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessity of following this enterprise doth nothing urge us, because in some case better a mischief, than an inconvenience; let the convenience thereof somewhat move us, in respect both of so many gentlemen, soldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they do not die like cloyed cattle in rank easefulness, are enforced for maintainance-sake, sometimes to take shameful and unlawful courses; and in respect of so many handicraftsmen having able bodies, that do live in cleanness of teeth and poverty. To sacrifice the children of Belial unto the commonweal, is not to defile the land with blood, because the law of God doth not prohibit it, and the execution of justice requireth it to be so. But yet, if the water-

boughs

boughs, that suck and feed on the juice and nourishment that the fruitful branches should live by, are to be cut down from the tree and not regarded, lucky and prosperous be that right-hand that shall plant and possess a soil, where they may fructify, increase, and grow to good! Thrice honourable and blessed be the memory of so charitable a deed, from one generation to another!

To conclude, Your Lordship hath paid for the discovery and search, both in your own person, and since by me. You have framed it, and moulded it ready for Her Majesty to set on her seal. If either envy or ignorance, or other device frustrate the rest, the good which shall grow to our enemies, and the loss which will come to Her Majesty and this kingdom, will after a few years shew itself. We have more people, more ships, and better means, and yet do nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweet a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that he is lord of so many empires and kingdoms already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that he attended this year a home invasion, yet he sent twenty-eight sail to Trinidad whereof ten were for that place and Guiana, and had some other ships ready at Cadiz, if the same had not been by my lords, Her Majesty's generals, and Your Lordship, set on fire.

In one word, the time serveth, the like occasion seldom happeneth in many ages, the former-repeated considerations do all jointly together importune us, now or never to make ourselves rich, our posterity happy, our prince every way stronger than our enemies, and to establish our country in a state flourishing and peaceable. O, let not then such an indignity rest on us, as to deprave so notable an enterprise with false rumours, and vain suppositions; to sleep in so serious a matter, and renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and sovereignty of so famous a conquest, to leave all unto the Spaniard![6]"

[6] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III, 672. *A Table of the Names of the Rivers, Nations, Towns, and Cassiques, or Captains, that in this second Voyage were discovered—the names of those worthy Spaniards that have sought to discover and conquer Guiana—and an Advertisement to the Reader*, will be found in the Appendix. No. VIII.

On

Action at Cadiz.

On the return of Keymis to England, Sir Walter was absent from this country, and engaged in the memorable action at Cadiz, in 1596, as which, says Monson, an eye-witness, *the king of Spain never received so great an overthrow and so great an indignity at our hands; for our attempt was at his own home, in his port that he thought as safe as his chamber; where we took and destroyed his ships of war, burned and consumed the wealth of his merchants, sacked his city, ransomed his subjects, and entered his country without impeachment* [7].

The recent possession of Calais by the Spaniards, the late ill-success of Hawkins and Drake, the state of the sister-kingdom of Ireland, and the intelligence of the preparations at Cadiz, were circumstances which strongly combined to create apprehensions in Queen Elizabeth of Philip's designs; and she now determined on a measure, which, as I have already observed [8], Sir Walter was of opinion she might have persued with equally good consequences in 1588—the attempt to destroy his preparations in his own ports. A powerful fleet was accordingly equipped at Plymouth, consisting of an hundred and fifty vessels; seventeen of which were capital ships of war, twenty-two supplied by the Dutch, the rest tenders and small vessels. The men computed to be embarked were 6360 soldiers, 1000 volunteers, and 6772 seamen, beside the Dutch. The command of the land-forces was given to the Earl of Essex, that of the navy to Lord Effingham, high-admiral. To these were appointed for a council of war, Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford. The fleet was divided into four squadrons, which were severally under the command of the high-admiral, Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, and Ralegh [9].

It appears that Sir Walter did not join the expedition at Plymouth, until some days after the other commanders were assembled there. For among Mr. Anthony Bacon's papers, is a letter, in May, to his brother Francis, wherein he writes, *I doubt not but that you have heard of Mr.*

[7] Naval Tracts, Ann. 1596.
[8] See Chap. II. note 49.
[9] Camden's Elizab. Ann. 1596.

Falk

Fulk Greville's employment to carry to the two generals their royal benediction; and yet Sir Walter Ralegh's slackness and stay by the way is not thought to be upon sloth or negligence, but upon pregnant design, which will be brought forth very shortly and found to be, according to the French proverb, fils ou fille [10]. Also in a letter from Sir Anthony Standen to Mr. Bacon, dated Exeter, May 18th, in his way to Plymouth, he writes that he heard by such as he met continually coming from that town that there was *no speech* of the departure of the fleet, there being no kind of news of Sir Walter Ralegh, whose stay seemed to stay all, and to put the Earl of Essex to insupportable charges, *and hereupon do want no comments of divers senses, all to the best, as you may judge by the subject* [11].

Sir Walter arrived, however, at Plymouth on the 21st of May, and the embarkation of the army was then immediately to take place, that the fleet might proceed to sea with the first fair wind [12].

In the interval, some slight dissentions appear to have discovered themselves between him and Sir Francis Vere who was appointed, under the title of Lord Marshal, to supply the place of Lieutenant-general of the army in this expedition. *During this stay of the army about Plymouth,* says Vere, *it pleased my Lord of Essex to give me much countenance, and to have me always near him, which drew upon me no small envy, insomuch as some open jars fell out betwixt Sir Walter Ralegh, then rear-admiral of the navy, and Sir Conniers Clifford, sergeant-major-general of the army, and myself; which the general qualified for the time, and ordered that in all meetings at land, I should have the precedence of Sir Walter Ralegh, and he of me at sea* [13]. Dissention with Vere. Rear-admiral.

In addition to this, the Bacon papers inform us, *that at table in drink, in the presence of my Lords generals, &c. there passed some words, the matter being taken against the marshal by Arthur Throck-*

[10] See Birch's Memoirs Eliz. I. 486.
[11] Ibid. II. 6.
[12] Ibid. II. 10.
[13] See Vere's Commentaries, folio, Camb. 1657, p. 25.

morton,

morton[14], *a hot-headed youth, who desborded in such words as my Lords commanded him from the table*[15]—and in another letter, Sir Anthony Standen (who appears to have been no friend to Ralegh) informs us, *Sir Walter Ralegh's carriage to my Lord of Essex, is with the cunningest respect, and deepest humility that ever I saw or have trowed*[16]. Sir Walter's real disunion with Essex, and the attachment of both Vere and Standen to the party of the latter, sufficiently explain these anecdotes.

Fleet sails. On the first of June the fleet sailed. The principal ships of war and their commanders, which Sir William Monson has enumerated[17], were as follows:

Repulse, - -	Earl of Essex.
Ark-royal, - -	Lord Admiral.
Mere-honour, -	Lord Thos. Howard.
Warspite, - -	Sir Walter Ralegh.
Lion, - -	Sir Robert Southwell.
Rainbow, - -	Sir Francis Vere.
Nonpareille, - -	Sir Robert Dudley.
Vanguard, - -	Sir John Wingfield.
Mary Rose, - -	Sir Geo. Carew.
Dreadnought, - -	Sir Alex. Clifford.
Swiftsure, - -	Sir Rob. Cross.
Quittance, - -	Sir Geo. Gifford.
Tremontain, - -	Capt. King.
Crane, and others.	

They bent their course for Cadiz, where, by sealed orders, the general rendezvous was appointed, and sent armed tenders before them,

[14] Brother to Lady Ralegh, and knighted for his services in this expedition. See Birch's Memoirs, II. 50. The number of knights made by Essex on this occasion, produced the following sarcasm:

A gentleman of Wales,
A knight of Cales,
And a laird of the North-country;
But a yeoman of Kent,
With his yearly rent,
Will buy them out all three.

[15] Birch's Memoirs, II. 10.
[16] Ibid. II 15.
[17] See Naval Tracts.

which intercepted every vessel that could carry intelligence to the enemy. Near Cadiz they took an Irish ship, by which they learned that that port was full of merchantmen of great value, and that the Spaniards did not entertain an apprehension of an enemy[18]. There are several accounts of this expedition transmitted to us by actors in the scene, which do not materially differ from one another—that by Sir Walter himself is equally authentic with the rest, and is best entitled to a place in the present work.

A Relation of Cadiz-action, in the Year 1596.

Ralegh's relation of the action.

" You[19] shall receive many relations, but none more true than this. May it please Your Honour, therefore, to know, that on Monday, being the 20th of June, the English fleet came to an anchor in the bay of St. Sebastian, short of Cales half a league.

My Lord Admiral, being careful of Her Majesty's ships, had resolved with the Earl of Essex, that the town should be first attempted, to the end that both the Spanish gallions and gallies, together with forts of Cales, might not all at once beat upon our navy. Myself was not present at the resolution; for I was sent the day before toward the main, to stop such as might pass out from St. Lucar, or Cales, along the coast. When I was arrived back again, (which was two hours after the rest) I found the Earl of Essex disembarking his soldiers, and he had put many companies into boats, purposing to make his descent on the west side of Cales; but such was the greatness of the billow, by reason of a forcible southerly wind, as the boats were ready to sink at the stern of the Earl, and indeed, divers did so, and in them some of the armed men. But because it was formerly resolved (and that to cast doubts would have been esteemed an effect of fear) the Earl proposed to go on, until such time as I came aboard him, and

[18] Camden—Ann. 1596.

[19] I have not been able to ascertain to whom this piece was addressed.

in the presence of all the colonels protested against the resolution, giving him reasons, and making apparent demonstrations, that he thereby ran the way of our general ruin, to the utter overthrow of the whole armies, their own lives, and Her Majesty's future safety. The Earl excused himself, and laid it to the Lord Admiral, who (he said) would not consent to enter with the fleet till the town were first possessed. All the commanders and gentlemen present besought me to dissuade the attempt, for they all perceived the danger, and were resolved that the most part could not but perish in the sea ere they came to set foot on ground; and if any arrived on shore, yet were they sure to have their boats cast on their heads, and that twenty men, in so desperate a descent, would have defeated them all.

The Earl hereupon prayed me to persuade my Lord Admiral, who, finding a certain destruction by the former resolution, was content to enter the port. When I brought news of this agreement to the Earl, calling out of my boat unto him, *intramus*, he cast his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. The day was now far spent, and it required much time to return the boats of soldiers to their own ships, so as we could not that night attempt the fleet, although many (seeming desperately valiant) thought it a fault of mine to put it off till the morning; albeit, we had neither agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed who should lead, and who should second, whether by boarding or otherwise; neither could our fleet possibly recover all their men in before sun-set. But both the generals being pleased to hear me, and many times to be advised by so mean an understanding, came again to an anchor in the very mouth of the harbour. So that night about ten of the clock, I wrote a letter to the Lord Admiral, declaring therein my opinion how the fight should be ordered, persuading him to appoint to each of the great gallions of Spain, two great fly-boats to board them, after such time as the Queen's ships had battered them; for I knew that both St. Philip and the rest would burn and not yield; and then to lose so many of the Queen's ships for company, I thought it too dear a purchase, and it would be termed but a lamentable victory. This being ageeed on,

and

and both the generals persuaded to lead the body of the fleet, the charge for the performance thereof (upon my humble suit) was granted and assigned unto me. The ships appointed to second me were these:

The Mary Rose, commanded by Sir GEORGE CAREW.
The Lion, by Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL.
The Rainbow, by the Marshal Sir FRANCIS VERE.
The Swiftsure, by Captain CROSS.
The Dreadnought, by Sir CONIERS and ALEX. CLIFFORD
The Nonpareille, by Mr. DUDLEY.
The twelve ships of London, with certain fly-boats.

The Lord Thomas Howard, because the Mere-honour, which he commanded, was one of the greatest ships, was also left behind with the generals; but being impatient thereof, pressed the generals to have the service committed unto him, and left the Mere-honour to Mr. Dudley, putting himself into the Nonpareille. For mine own part, as I was willing to give honour to my Lord Thomas, having both precedency in the army, and being a nobleman whom I much honoured; so yet I was resolved to give and not take example for this service, holding mine own reputation dearest, and remembering my great duty to Her Majesty. With the first peep of day, therefore, I weighed anchor, and bare with the Spanish fleet, taking the start of all ours a good distance.

Now Sir, may it please you to understand, that there were ranged under the wall of Cales, on which the sea beateth, seventeen gallies, which lay with their prows to flank our entrance as we passed toward the gallions. There was also a fort called the Philip, which beat and commanded the harbour. There were also ordnance which lay all along the curtain upon the wall toward the sea. There were also divers other pieces of culverin, which also scowered the channel. Notwithstanding, as soon as the St. Philip perceived one of the admirals under sail approaching, she also set sail, and with her the St. Mat-

St. Matthew, the St. Thomas, the St. Andrew, the two great gallions of Lisbon, three frigates of war accustomed to transport the treasure, two argosies very strong in artillery, the admiral, the vice-admiral, and rear-admiral, of Nueva Espagna, with forty other great ships bound for Mexico and other places. Of all which the St. Philip, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, and the St. Thomas, being four of the royal ships of Spain, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntall, in a streight of the harbour which leadeth toward Puerto Reall. On the right-hand of them they placed the three frigates, on the back the two gallions of Lisbon, and the argosies, and the seventeen gallies by three and three, to interlace them as occasion should be offered. The admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of Nueva Espagna, with the body of the fleet, were placed behind them toward Puerto Reall; hoping with this great strength to defend the entrance, the place being no broader from point to point than that these did in effect stretch over as a bridge, and had beside the fort of Puntall to their guard. But the seventeen gallies did not at first depart with the rest, but stayed by the town, with all their prows bent against us as we entered; with which, together with the artillery of the town and forts, they hoped to have stumbled the leading ship, and doubted not thereby but to have discouraged the rest.

Heads the fleet.

Having (as aforesaid) taken the leading, I was first saluted by the fort called Philip, afterward by the ordnance on the curtain, and lastly by all the gallies in good order. To shew scorn to all which I only answered first the fort, and afterward the gallies, to each piece a blur with a trumpet, disdaining to shoot one piece at any one or all of those esteemed dreadful monsters [20]. The ships that followed beat upon the gallies so thick, that they soon betook them to their oars, and got up to join with the gallions in the streight, as aforesaid;

[20] Thus many years later Sir Walter wrote, *the fort St. Philip terrified not us in the year* 1596 *when we entered the port of Cadiz, neither did the fort at Puntall when we were entered, beat us from our anchoring by it; though it played upon us with four demi-cannons within point-blank, from six in the morning till twelve at noon.* Hist. World, V. I. 16.

and

and then, as they were driven to come near me, and enforced to range their sides toward me, I bestowed a benediction among them. But the St. Philip, the great and famous admiral of Spain, was the mark I shot at; esteeming those gallies but as wasps in respect of the powerfulness of the other; and being resolved to be revenged for the Revenge [21], or to second her with mine own life, I came to anchor by the gallions, of which the Philip and Andrew were the two that boarded the Revenge. I was formerly commanded not to board, but was promised fly-boats, in which after I had battered awhile I resolved to join unto them. My Lord Thomas came to anchor by me on the one hand with the Lion; the Mary Rose on the other, with the Dreadnought; the marshal toward the side of Puntall; and toward ten of the clock my Lord General Essex, being impatient to abide far off hearing so great thunder of ordnance, thrust up through the fleet and headed all those on the left hand, coming to anchor next unto me on that side; and afterward came in the Swiftsure as near as she could. Always I must, without glory, say for myself, that I held single in the head of all.

Now, after we had beaten as two buts one upon another almost three hours, assuring Your Honour that the vollies of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a skirmish of musketeers, and finding myself in danger to be sunk in the place, I went to my Lord General in my skiff, to desire him that he would enforce the promised fly-boats to come up that I might board, for as I rid I could not endure so great a battery any long time. My Lord General was then coming up himself, to whom I declared, that if the fly-boats came not I would board with the Queen's ship, for it was the same loss to burn or sink, for I must endure the one. The Earl, finding that it was not in his power to command fear, told me, that whatsoever I did he would second me in person upon his honour. My Lord Admiral having also a disposition to come up at first, but the river was so choaked as he could not pass with the

[21] See Chap. III. p. 116, of this work, and Hakluyt's Voyages, II. Part II. p. 169.

Ark,

Ark, came up in person into the Nonpereille with my Lord Thomas. While I was thus speaking with the Earl, the marshal, who thought it some touch to his great esteemed valour to ride behind me so many hours, got up a-head my ship; which my Lord Thomas perceiving, headed him again, myself being but a quarter of an hour absent. At my return, finding myself from being the first, to be but the third, I presently let slip anchor, and thrust in between my Lord Thomas and the marshal, and went up farther a-head than all them before, and thrust myself athwart the channel, so as I was sure none should outstart me again for that day. My Lord General Essex, thinking his ship's side stronger than the rest, thrust the Dreadnought aside, and came next the Warspite on the left hand, a-head all that rank but my Lord Thomas. The marshal, while we had no leisure to look behind us, secretly fastened a rope on my ship's side toward him, to draw himself up equally with me; but some of my company advertising me thereof, I caused it to be cut off, and so he fell back into his place, whom I guarded, all but his very prow, from the sight of the enemy.

Now if it please you to remember, that having no hope of my fly-boats to board, and that the Earl and my Lord Thomas both promised to second me, I laid out a warp by the side of the Philip to shake hands with her (for with the wind we could not get aboard). Which when she and the rest perceived, finding also that the Repulse (seeing mine) began to do the like, and the Rear Admiral my Lord Thomas, they all let slip, and ran aground, tumbling into the sea heaps of soldiers, so thick as if coals had been poured out of a sack in many ports at once, some drowned, and some sticking in the mud. The Philip and the St. Thomas burnt themselves. The St. Matthew and the St. Andrew were recovered with our boats ere they could get out to fire them. The spectacle was very lamentable on their side, for many drowned themselves; many, half burnt, leaped into the water, very many hanging by the ropes' ends by the ship's side under the water, even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds strucken under water, and put out of their pain;

and

and withal, so huge a fire, and such tearing of the ordnance in the great Philip and the rest when the fire came to them, as, if any man had a desire to see hell itself, it was there most lively figured. Ourselves spared the lives of all after the victory; but the Flemings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter, till they were by myself, and afterward by my Lord Admiral beaten off. The ships that abode the fight in the morning till ten o'clock were the Warspite, the Nonpareill, the Lion, the Mary Rose, the Rainbow, and the Dreadnought. To second these came up the Earl and the Swiftsure. And these were all that did aught against six goodly gallions, two argosies, three frigates, seventeen gallies, and the fort of Puntall, backed by the Admiral of Nueva Espagna, and others; in all fifty-five or fifty-seven.

This being happily finished we prepared to land the army, and to attempt the town; in which there were of all sorts about 5000 footburghers, 150 soldiers in pay, and about 800 horse of the gentry and cavalleros of Xerez, gathered together upon the discovery of our fleet two days before, while we were becalmed off Cape St. Mary. The horsemen sallied out to resist the landing, but were so well withstood, that they most took their way toward the bridge which leadeth into the main called Puente Souse; the rest retired to the town, and so hardly followed, as they were driven to leave their horses at the port, (which the inhabitants durst not open to let them in) and so they leaped down an old wall into the suburbs; and being so closely followed by the vanguard of our foot-men, as when the general perceived an entrance there, he thought it was possible for ours to do the like; upon which occasion the town was carried with a sudden fury, and with little loss; only Sir John Wingfield was slain, Sir Edward Wingfield, Captain Bagnoll, and Captain Medickhurt; other men of quality few or none.

For the particular behaviours of any that entered, I cannot otherwise deliver than by report; for I received a grievous blow in my leg, interlaced, and deformed with splinters in the fight. Yet being desirous to see every man's disposition, I was carried ashore Wounded

ashore on men's shoulders, and as soon as my horse was recovered, my Lord Admiral sent one unto me; but I was not able to abide above an hour in the town for the torment I suffered, and for the fear I had to be shouldered in the press, and among the tumultuous disordered soldiers, that being then given to spoil and rapine had no respect. The same night I returned, chiefly for that there was no admiral left to order the fleet, and (indeed) few or no people in the navy, all running headlong to the sack; and secondly, because I was unfit for aught but ease at that time. At the break of day following I sent to the general to have order to follow the fleet of ships bound for the Indies, which were said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in Puerte Reall road, where they could not escape. But the town new taken, and the confusion great, it was almost impossible for them to order many things at once, so as I could not receive any answer to my desire. The afternoon of the same day, those that were merchants of Cales and Sevil offered the generals two millions to spare that fleet, whereupon there was nothing done for the present. But the morning following, being the 23d of June, the Duke of Medina caused all that fleet of merchants to be set on fire, because he was resolved that they must needs have fallen into our hands; so as now both gallions, frigates, argosies, and all other ships of war, together with the fleet of Nueva Espagna, were all committed into ashes, only the St. Matthew and St. Andrew were in our possession. Much of the ordnance of the St. Philip hath been saved by the Flemings, who have had great spoil. There is embarked good store of ordnance out of the town, and the two apostles aforesaid are well furnished, which (God willing) we purpose to bring into England. The town of Cales was very rich in merchandize, in plate and money; many rich prisoners given to the land-commanders, so as that sort are very rich. Some had prisoners for 16,000 ducats, some for 20,000, some for 10,000; and beside, great houses of merchandize. What the generals have gotten I know least; they protest it is little. For my own part, I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed. For the rest, either I spake too late,

or

or it was otherwise resolved. I have not wanted good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usance; but I have possession of nought but poverty and pain. If God had spared me that blow, I had possessed myself of some house[22]."

Testimonies of his bravery.

In addition to these testimonies of his own writing respecting the important part which Sir Walter acted in this expedition, there are not wanting others of the highest respectability. *All men did generally well,* says the Lord Admiral to his father-in-law, *but the chiefest for the service done by sea, beside the Earl, were the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Ralegh, and my son Southwell, who had the leading, and performed it notably*[23]. In a letter to Mr. John Stanhope from a gentleman in the fleet we read, *Sir Walter Ralegh, I think, nevertheless had not much, although he deserved very much in this, that he fought so bravely with the Spanish fleet while they were overthrown. If our sovereign mistress had seen it, it would I think have been a sufficient expiation of all his faults whatsoever. I have always held him to be wise, and now I am* testigo de vista *that he is a very valiant seaman*[24]. Sir Anthony Standen appears also to have become a convert to Ralegh on this occasion, for in a letter to the Lord High-treasurer, dated Cadiz, July 5th, he writes:—*Sir Walter Ralegh did, in my judgment, no man better; and his artillery most effect. I never knew the gentleman until this time, and I am sorry for it, for there are in him excellent things beside his valour; and the observation he hath in this voyage used with my Lord of Essex, hath made me love him.* He afterward adds, in the Warspite were fourteen men killed, and Sir Walter cut in the leg by a splinter[25].

[22] See No. II. of Genuine Remains of Sir Walter Ralegh, subjoined to an Abridgment of his History of the World, by Philip Ralegh, Esq. only grandson to Sir Walter, 8vo. London, 1700.

[23] Birch's Memoirs Q. Elizab. II. 54.

[24] Ibid, II. 97.

[25] See the Harleian Collection, No. 6845, xxi. The curious reader may see much more on this subject in Les Lauriers de Nassau, folio, Leyden, 1612; and the translation, The Triumphs of Nassau, folio, 1613.

Return from Cadiz.

Having demolished the forts, and set fire to the city of Cadiz, the army re-embarked on the 5th of July, and it was proposed to continue at sea, and await the West Indian fleet, which usually about that season reached the coast of Spain. This being over-ruled, the fleet made for England. On their passage homeward they sacked the town of Faro in Portugal, and obtained among other booty the valuable library of Bishop Osorius, a considerable part of which was afterward given by Essex to the since celebrated collection opened by Sir Thomas Bodley at Oxford in the following year[26]. Re-embarking their troops, and finding no ships in the harbours of the Groine and Ferrol, the whole fleet arrived in safety at Plymouth by the 10th of August without any other adventure[27].

No sooner had Sir Walter returned from this expedition, than he made preparations for pursuing his Guianian enterprise. He fitted out a stout pinnace, named, probably after him, the Wat, and which had been in the late engagement. The command of her was given to Captain Leonard Berrie; and the following narrative of the voyage written by Mr. Thomas Masham, a gentleman of the company, is preserved by Hakluyt.

The Third Voyage set forth by Sir Walter Ralegh to Guiana, with a Pinnace called the Wat, in the Year 1596; *written by Mr.* THOMAS MASHAM, *a Gentleman of the Company.*

Third Voyage to Guiana.

"Upon Thursday the 14th of October, 1596, we set sail from Limehouse upon the river of Thames, and through much contrariety of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27th of December before we could get out of Weymouth. The 25th of January in the morning we came to the north-side of the island of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to have gotten a boat to serve us upon the coast of Guiana, but the wind was so great that we could not launch our shallop; so we passed along by the road and the town, and at length

[26] See Wood's Hist. Oxon. l. ii. p. 50.

[27] See Camden, Vere, and Monson.

saw

saw a boat lying on shore, which being too big for us, we ripped up and wooded ourselves with her. That day we descried a sail, which at length we found to be a fly-boat of Dartmouth of 200 tons, bound to the island of Mayo for salt. We fell in consort with her, and that night stood for the southermost part of the island there to water, where we staid all the next day, and watered at the south-south-west part thereof. That night we weighed and stood away together south-south-east, and south and by east, purposing by their persuasion to go for the river Doro. The 28th of January we made the farthermost part of Barbary; and this morning we met with master Benjamin Wood with his fleet of three sail bound for the straits of Magellan and China, to wit, the Bear, the Whelp, and the Benjamin, who told us that there was no good to be done in the river Doro. Whereupon we stood along with them for Cape Blanco, unto which we came upon Sunday night next following. And upon Monday morning, the first of February, we saw two ships in a sandy bay; so we steered in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the West Indies, and put all into the bay, where we refreshed ourselves with fish, in which there was infinite store, and staid there until Thursday the 5th, at which time we stood up with the cape again, where rode the Frenchman and his pinnace, who put forth right afore us, and another Frenchman and his caravel well manned. So all we five English came to an anchor by them, where after kind greeting with many shots out of every ship both English and French, all our captains were invited to a feast aboard the French admiral; where, after great cheer and kind entertainment, it was concluded on all hands to take the Isle of Fogo, if God would give us leave.

The same day we all weighed and stood along for the Isle of Sal, unto which we came the 8th of February, and anchored altogether at a bay in the west part thereof; in which island we had good store of goats and fresh fish. There is no man dwelling upon the island that we could see. We could find no fresh water upon it, but one standing puddle of bad water; it hath four great mountains upon the four corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it seemeth being overcome

come with drink, having been aboard our general at a feast) being on shore, one of the gentlemen of their company was slain, and their chief captain sorely wounded; by reason whereof, and of the setting together of a pinnace which they were about, the French admiral and the caravel stayed behind. So we in the Wat, and the other six ships weighed the 10th of February, and stood away for the isle of Mayo. This night the other two French ships that came from Sal with us (as it seemeth of purpose, because their consorts were not with them) lost us. The next morning we saw Mayo. So we and the fly-boat of Dartmouth compassed the northermost part of the island, and master Benjamin Wood in the China fleet the southermost, and came all to an anchor together at the south-west part thereof; where rode six sail of Flemings loading salt, who had brought their horses and carts, and wheel-barrows, and planks for their barrows to run upon. Here is abundance of salt in this island made by God's hand without man's labour. These told us that there were thirty sail more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard since, beat it up with much ado, and came thither also for salt. This trade may be very beneficial to England, considering the dearness of salt. Of goats on this island there is such store, as is incredible but to those that have seen them; and it is a wonder how they live one by the other, the ground being stony and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it some twenty mountaineers, which got one of the Flemings' men straggling; and God knoweth what they did with him, for they saw him no more. This island is somewhat low and round, having no great mountains upon it.

Here ended our determination concerning the invading of Fogo. And here we left the fly-boat of Dartmouth loading salt, and the China fleet to refresh themselves with goats, who, as I have heard since, had at the village (from whence the mountaineers were fled into the farthest parts of the island and rocks) great store of dried goats which they carried along with them; which were like to be a great help unto them in their long voyage. So, upon Saturday

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the 12th of February at night we set sail, and stood for the coast of Guiana, which we were bound for.

Upon Sunday the 20th of February we came into the main current that setteth from the cape of Buena Esperança along the coast of Brasil, and so toward the West Indies, for the most part setting away north-west.

The Tuesday night following, whereas before our course was west-south-west, we stood away west and by south; by reason whereof, and of the current that set us to the northward, we were the next day by noon twenty minutes farther to the northward than the day before. So that then we lay away south-west, because we were loath to fall to the northward of our place intended; which, if we should be put to leeward of, there was small hope left to recover it.

By Thursday we were within one degree and a half of the equinoctial line; therefore this day we hauled away west and by south, and west. This night we sounded, but had no ground at ninety fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to be more white, so we made another sound, and had ground at thirty fathoms, but saw no land, and in the afternoon we hauled away west-north-west, north-west, and north-north-west. In the night we sounded divers times, and had twelve, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday we had a thick red water, and had seven and eight fathoms both day and night, and upon Sunday morning by day being the 27th of February, we made the land which appeared low, and trended nearest as we fell with it south and by east, north and by west about two degrees and a half toward the north. Right on head of us was a cape or headland, so that had we been shot a little farther into the bay, the wind being more northerly, we should hardly have doubled it off. For with much ado making many boards, and stopping every tide, it was the Tuesday following before we cleared ourselves of the bay, and recovered the cape. Now

the

the land trended north-west and by north, and south-east and by south. And still we were fain to anchor every tide, sometimes in four fathoms, and sometimes in three, as far as we could see land. So about night we saw Cape Cecil, and after some two hours, came to an anchor. Between these two capes the land lieth low and even.

Upon Wednesday morning, having the wind large at east-north-east, we laid it away upon a board into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anchor in the river's mouth in two fathoms; over the bar there is little water, as six and seven foot, and less in many places. And this river of Wiapoucou standeth almost in four degrees to the northward of the line.

The next morning we weighed, and standing in with our pinnace by night, we got some eight leagues up the river. This day sometimes we had but five foot water, and drew seven foot, but being soft oaze we went clear; and a little before we came to anchor, we were on ground upon a rock, but with some trouble and labour we got off and had no hurt.

Upon Friday the 4th of March, toward night, we came to the falls. The next day M. Leonard Berrie our captain, the master, myself, and some five more, went through the woods, and spent all the day in searching the head of the falls, but could not find it; for though we passed by many, yet were there more still one above the other. So that finding no Indians in this river to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might entice us to come to so short allowance as we must have done, if we had spent any long time here, finding it over hard to pass the falls, we fell down the river again, and by Friday, the 11th of March, we cleared ourselves of the river and bay. This river from the mouth to the falls is some sixteen leagues, in many places a mile over, but for the most part half a mile. There are many islands in it; as are also in most of the rivers upon the coast. This night we anchored against Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto we thought to have put with our pinnace, but found the water so shoal, and the sea so grown, that neither with our ship nor shallop we durst go in.

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On Saturday by noon we came to anchor under one of the seven islands; upon which going on shore we found neither man nor beast, but great store of yellow plums which are good to eat.

Upon Sunday after dinner our master, William Dowle, and six more went off with our boat to a town called Aramatto, where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some tobacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboard all night, the next day, being Monday the 14th of March, went with our captain into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoes to us, and we went on shore to them; and from thence our captain sent a canoe with seven men, which had every one of them a knife, to go back to the river of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo, captain of that place, that because we could not come to him, we would stay at Chiana for him, whither we intreated him to come to us. So upon Thursday the 17th we stood in for Chiana, and came to an anchor without in the bay in three fathoms that night; and had the Caribes coming continually to us with their canoes, which brought us great store of victuals and some tobacco, shewing themselves very kind and loving, and came all from their towns and dwelt on shore by us until Ritimo came; at whose coming they returned all up to their towns again, which was upon the Sunday following. All this day we feasted him and his train, and the next day we trafficed with them for such things as they brought, which was principally tobacco.

After that they had made know their minds of the desire that they had to have the English come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the country, they departed with their three canoes the next day. And we with the help of the Caribes of Chiana, having by their means from the shore watered, because the river's mouth was salt, departed out of the bay the Thursday following, and passing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reason of shoals, rocks, and great winds, being a lee-shore, and for want of a good shallop, we came to an anchor the next day, being Good-friday, in five fathoms, near the Triangle-islands, called the Careres. And upon Saturday,

turday, standing to the westward, we stopped against the town of Maware, which is a little to the westward of the town Comanamo; from whence, and from the other towns in that bay, which are some six or seven, we had canoes come off to us as before with such things as they had themselves in use, with parrots, monkies, and cotton-wool and flax. From whence we departed upon Monday following, the 28th of March, 1597.

And passing by the rivers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a small river, and is shoaled off, we came to Marawinne the next day, and finding a channel of three, four, and five fathoms, we stood into the river; and the same day came to an anchor some two leagues in against the mouth of Cooshepwinne, which river goeth into Amano. Into which, (understanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling) this night we sent our boat and came to a town called Marrac one league in; and finding the people something pleasant, having drunk much that day, being as it seemed a festival-day with them, yet were they very fearful and ready to run away at the first sight of us, having seldom seen any Christian before. But as soon as Henry our Indian interpreter had told them what we were, and our intent, they came to us and used us kindly, and brought us victuals and other things. And the next day their captain Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with divers canoes, and traded with us, and we went in again to them on shore, who made very much of us, and carried us from house to house, and made us eat and drink in every house which we came in. And the next day following being the last of March, having the captain of Marrac with us, we weighed and stood into the river, and about two of the clock in the afternoon came to an anchor some eight leagues within the river, a little short of a town called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes; who, when they saw us come toward their town with our boat, began all to run into the woods, until the captain of Marrac which was with us in the boat, leaped overboard and swam on shore unto them, and told them that we were Englishmen, and came in friendship to trade with them.

Upon whose report they came before night six or seven canoes aboard

aboard us, yet very fearful, because there was never either ship or Christian seen in that river before. The 1st of April we weighed again, and stood in to the next town, called Macirria, where coming to anchor, there came a canoe from Amano to us, with great store of victuals, which canoe we bought; and because we met with some shoals, we were loath to go any farther with our pinnace, so there we moored her, and the next day at three of the clock in the afternoon, eleven of us, (master Monax having the government of the action, by the captain's appointment) with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoe which we bought, went into the river farther to search it so far as we could, and that night got some five leagues from our ship. And between two villages Awodwaier and Mapeributto, we took up our lodging in the woods. The 3d of April, betimes in the morning, we took our course still unto the river, and in the afternoon came to one house where we found many Indians, where we hired another canoe and four Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night got twelve leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wild beasts.

On Monday the 4th of April, we came to the falls of this river about two in the afternoon, and having shot up some of the rocks, we went on shore upon an island, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And enquiring of the Indians that we hired for our pilots of the last house, whether the falls were passable or not, their first answer was, that they had nothing to eat; but we being loath to lose so much labour, and the sight of that upper rich country which we desired, told them that they should have victuals of us, (though God knoweth we had none for ourselves) who, seeing us so importunate, said farther, that the rocks would kill the canoes, which they said, because indeed, they had no victuals; which by some was taken for sufficient to proceed no farther, and so we left off, and only staid some two hours upon the island, and with the swiftness of the current, fell that night down ten leagues again. Though I for mine own part offered in that small canoe that I was in, being so leaky that myself did nothing but lave out the water, to lead them the way, and if

they saw any danger to me, they might chuse whether they would come into it or not themselves.

For seeing the country above was rich as we were informed, that their bows were handled with gold, (being men of an extraordinary stature for talness) we should have taken the more pains, and have fared the harder, until we had gotten up in the country which we saw with our eyes; for though we had not victuals in any sort to carry us up, yet the woods do yield fruits, and the palmito-trees afford meat, whereby we might have made shift to live, until we had come to the inhabitants, by whom we might both be refreshed with victuals, and also have reaped that which might have done us good as long as we had lived.

But to return to the rest of our voyage; the day after we went from the falls we came to our ship, which was the 5th of April, 1597. On Wednesday we fell with our pinnace to Quiparia again; where we brought her on ground right before the town, and trimmed her with the pitch of the country. And until we had done, kept a corps-du-guard, night and day on shore, which was upon Saturday following the ninth of April. All the while we were there we had an house of the Caribes, and were kindly used of them, and had victuals, and every thing we needed of them.

And so taking our leave on Tuesday being the 12th of April, we came to the mouth of Cusse-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac, and of the river had provided and brought to us such infinite store of potatoes, and Guinea-wheat, that the steward said we had no stowage for them; and so they were turned back, and we by that means came to shorter allowance homeward bound, than (if there had been any good care) we needed to have done.

On Friday the 15th of April, we put forth of Marawinne, which is some four leagues over, and within one league and a half for the most part broad, full of islands, and divers small rivers running into it. And it is between forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falls, and lieth for the most part south-south-west up, altering some three points, being almost strait. And standing along to the west-

ward

ward, this night we tried with our main coarse and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anchor, in three fathoms against Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to have gone into Cuppanamo; but sending off our boat and finding uncertain sounding, sometime three fathoms and presently nine foot, we stood along to Coritine and came into it upon the Monday being the 18th of April; and the next night we came to anchor against Warawalle in ten fathoms. On Wednesday the Indians of the town having hunted a doe, she took soil and came near our ship, and putting off with our boat we took her, being like unto our deer in England, not altogether so fat, but very good flesh and great bodied. In this river we met a bark, called the John of London, captain Leigh being in her. And being both fallen down within some five leagues of the mouth of the river, upon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom we brought along with us) gave us, namely that the river Desekebe, in which he dwelt, (and wherein there were some three hundred Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead) doth lead so far into the country, that it cometh within a day's journey of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this river of Coritine doth meet with Desekebe up in the land; by means whereof we make account to go up into the country, and to have discovered a passage unto that rich city. So having concluded both ships, we stood up into the river again, and coming to Warawalle the 24th of April there our ships rode until we went up to Mawranamo to speak with Marracon, to know the truth of these things; whom when we had found, he verified all that before he had spoken. Master Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe took all the intelligence, who being brought up with Antonie Berreo could some Spanish and Marracons' language also. And beside, we ourselves by signs, and drawing the two rivers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceive as much. Now coming down with our boats the 26th of April we went up with our ships to Mawranama, where we moored them, and taking some twenty out of both, upon Thursday the 28th in the afternoon with two shallops and two canoes, in one of which Henry the

Indian

Indian was, and some twenty Indians more, we went up the river; and by night getting some three leagues farther we lodged in the woods, and the next morning we with our boat and the two canoes went into a small river called Tapuere, to a town called Macharibi, thinking to have had cassavi and other victuals, which they were altogether unprovided of, by reason that they make no more ready than serveth themselves from hand to mouth, living in this town for the most part by fish. By means of going into this river, though we rowed very hard, it was noon before we overtook the bigger shallop, wherein both the captains were. This night we came to a town called Vaperon, where we staid all Saturday and the night following for cassavi, whereof they baked good store for us being but a few left in the town. For not a month before we came thither, the Waccawes that dwell above the falls came down to the town, and slew some ten of them, and many of the rest fled away, so that we found most of the houses empty. Upon Sunday morning, being May-day, we went from this place, and by night got some twelve leagues beyond; and being past all towns we lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falls of the river, up some of which falls we shot with our boats, and going upon a rock there came some nine canoes up the river to us, and would have gone up with us to kill the Waccawayans, because they had killed some of them, as before is said. Whereupon the captains and master Monax took advice; and because now they had learned, as they said, that five days' journey farther there was a fall not passable, and that by this means they should make the Waccawayans their enemies, which would turn to our great hurt when Sir Walter Ralegh should come thither, having occasion to use this river where we were informed was good store of gold, they resolved to return, though I yielded divers reasons to the contrary. So, upon Tuesday night we came back to Vaperon, where we lodged.

And upon Wednesday the 4th of May we came to our ships, where it was reported that the Spaniards were gone out of Desekebe, which was not so; but as it seemed in policy by them given out to make

make our men that we left in our ships more careless, that they might the easier have surprised them in our absence. The next night we had news brought us to Mawranamo, where we yet rode, that there were ten canoes of Spaniards in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing lest they had intended to come to us in the night, we fitted all our guns and muskets, and kept good watch to prevent them of their purpose, who, as it was afterward told us, went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo, and Desekebe. Upon Friday the 6th of May we weighed and made down the river, and upon Sunday the 8th we got clear of it.

This river is much like unto Morawynne in breadth, and about fifty leagues from the mouth to the first falls, full of islands as the other; in which three rivers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwise Tapuellibi; with six towns, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuere, Maccharibi, Yohóron, and Vapéron. And so clearing ourselves of this coast, we took our course to the islands of the West Indies.

Now I think it not amiss to speak something of this country. And first touching the climate; though it stand within the tropic, and something near to the equinoctial, so that the sun is twice a-year over their heads, and never far from them, yet it is temperate enough in those parts. For, beside that we lost not a man upon the coast, one that was sick before he came there, was nothing sicker for being there, but came home safe, thanks be to God. And for mine own part, I was never better in body in all my life, and in like sort fared it with the rest of the company; for indeed it is not so extreme hot as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the country go naked, both men and women, being of several languages, very tractable and ingenious, and very loving and kind to Englishmen generally, as by experience we found, and upon our own knowledge do report. In the upper countries they go apparelled, being, as it seemeth, of a more civil disposition, having great store of gold, as we are certainly informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had

some

some gold, which they brought and bought in the high country of Wiana, being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things which now we have left among them. They keep no order of marriage, but have as many wives as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cause of all their wars. For bread there is infinite store of cassavi, which is as good bread as a man need to eat, and better than we can carry any thither. We spent not a bit of our own all the while we were upon the coast. It is made of a root so called, which they take and scrape, and crush all the juice out, being poison; and when it is dry it is as fine flour as our white meal maketh; which, dry as it is, without any moisture, they strew upon a round stone, having a still fire under it, and so it congealeth to a cake; and when it cometh new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Beside, there is great store of Guinea wheat whereof they make passing good drink, which, after it is once sowed, if you cut off the ear, on the same stalk groweth another.

For victuals, we either did not, or at least needed not to have spent any of our own; for there is great store of as good fish in the rivers, as any is in the world. Great store of fowl of divers sorts, tortoise-flesh plentiful, and tortoises' eggs innumerable. Deer, swine, conies, hares, cocks, and hens, with potatoes more than we could spend. Beside, all kind of fruits at all times of the year; and the rarest fruits of the world, the pine, the plantain, with infinite other variable and pleasant, growing to their hands, without planting or dressing. For commodities, though we had but small time to search, because we spent so much time in searching the rivers, yet we have brought examples of some which the country yieldeth in great plenty; as a kind of long hemp like unto steel hemp, fine cotton wool which the trees yield great store of, and wherewith the women make a fine thread, which will make excellent good fustians or stockings. Great store of pitch, divers sorts of sweet gums and West Indian pepper, balsamum, parrots, and monkies. Beside divers other commodities, which in good time

may

may be found out to the benefit of our country and profit of the adventurers, who as yet, having ventured much have gained little.

Now leaving the river of Coritine, passing by St. Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica upon the Friday following, being the 13th of May, having lost the bark that came out with us the Wednesday before. Upon Sunday morning, the 15th of May, we came to Guadaloupe, where we watered at the southern part of the island; and having done by night we set sail, and stood away to the northward, but were becalmed all night, and until ten of the clock on Monday night; at which time, having a fair gale at east, and after at south-east, we passed along in the sight of Monserate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Upon the 9th of June, being Thursday, we made the islands of Flores and Corvo; and the 28th of June we made the Lisart, and that night came all safe to Plymouth, blessed be God!

Between the isle of Barbuda in the West Indies and England we had three mighty storms, many calms, and some contrary winds. And upon the 14th of June, 1597, there being divers whales playing about our pinnace, one of them crossed our stem, and going under rubbed her back against our keel; but by none of all these we sustained any loss. Thanks be to him that governeth all things!

Written by Master THOMAS MASHAM [23]."

[23] See Hakluyt's Voyages, III. 692.

CHAP. VI.

Queen pleased notwithstanding Essex.

CAMDEN informs us, that Queen Elizabeth gave the heros in the Cadiz-expedition a very gracious reception on their return, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of Essex that more had not been accomplished in that enterprise. The Earl's ardour for glory had led him to propose some farther attempts against the enemy, which the cooler counsels of his more experienced colleagues found it prudent to reject. This drew from him on their return a paper intituled, a Censure of the Omissions[1] in this expedition; in which he blames their not obtaining possession of the Indian fleet, their abandoning Cadiz, their not awaiting the caracs and Indian ships, and lastly, their not attacking the enemy in other ports. Under the two last heads he particularly mentions Sir Walter.

Sir Robert Cecil.

To add to the Earl's mortification he found on his return, that Sir Robert Cecil had been appointed Secretary of State in preference to Sir Thomas Bodley, whom he had so strongly recommended for that office[2]. Cecil was the second son of the celebrated Lord Treasurer Burleigh. Educated in a court by a parent so deeply skilled in its arts, he was crafty, insinuating, industrious; and although possessed of talents for the highest offices, he relied not on his own merit only, but availed himself of every advantage which the errors of others afforded him[3]. Naunton in his Fragmenta Regalia calls him *his father's own son—a courtier from his cradle*; and by his cousin, Mr. Francis Bacon, he is described as *a gentleman who had one of the rarest and most excellent wits in England, with a singular delivery and application of the same, whether it was to use a continued speech, or negociate, or touch in writing, or make report, or*

[1] See Burchet's and Lediard's Naval Hist.
[2] Camden, Ann. Elizab. 1596.
[3] Robertson.

discretely

discretely to consider of the circumstances, and aptly to draw things to a point; to all which were joined a very good nature, and a great respect to all men, and a thorough experience of public business under his father[4]. Essex had recommended Bodley on account of his knowledge of the affairs of the Low-countries; but in extolling him had disparaged Cecil with so much bitterness, and so little reason, that the queen (who began now, says Camden, to disapprove of his strong recommendations) not only refused Bodley, but would not allow him to share the office with Cecil as was at first proposed[5]. In the eye of Essex, Cecil was low and base; while the Earl's reputed magnanimity was presumption and folly to Cecil. Thus formed to be rivals and enemies, they in time headed two powerful factions which divided the court, and contended for the supreme direction of affairs.

His ill-will to Essex.

The good understanding which in the meantime subsisted between Cecil and Ralegh may be gathered from Sir Walter's letters to the former already presented to the reader. It is also pretty plain, that they agreed in their sentiments of Essex, a union which would naturally draw them closer to each other at this period. Ralegh being, however, still suspended from his post of captain of the guard, it was probably with a view of strengthening his interest, that he endeavoured about this time to reconcile Essex and Cecil. For in a letter from Rowland Whyte, Esq. to Sir Robert Sydney, dated March 4th, 1596-7, we read, *Sir Walter Ralegh hath been very often very private with the Earl of Essex, and is the mediator of a peace between him and Sir Robert Cecil, who likewise hath been private with him. Sir Walter alledges how much good may grow by it—the queen's continual unquietness will turn to contentments*[6].

His friendship to Ralegh.

1597.

The Sydney papers farther inform us, that Ralegh was among the candidates for the post of vice-chamberlain at this time vacant[7]; and Mr. Whyte's intelligent correspondence with Sir Robert Sydney furnishes us the following additional information.—*Sir Walter Ra-*

Ralegh a candidate as Vice-chamberlain.

[4] Birch's Memoirs Q. Elizab. I. 90.
[5] Camden—Ann. 1596.
[6] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 24.
[7] Ibid, II. 27.

legh is daily in court, and hope is had he shall be admitted to the execution of his office as Captain of the Guard before his going to sea. His friends you know are of greatest authority and power here, and the Earl of Essex gives it no opposition, his mind being full, and only carried away with the business he hath in his head of conquering and overcoming the enemy. (April 9, 1597.)—*This day, being Monday, Sir Robert Cecil went in coach with the Earl of Essex to his house, where Sir Walter Ralegh came, and they dined there together. After dinner they were very private all three for two hours, where the treaty of a peace was confirmed. It is true that Sir Walter Ralegh hath taken upon him to provide victuals for three months for* 6000 *men, at the allowance of ninepence a man* per diem. *There is imprested unto him £*3000 *a week for six weeks; he shall have Bridewell, Winchester-house, and Durham-house, to be the magazines for the victuals; he protests he shall be a loser by it, but few are of that opinion beside himself.* (April 19th)—*Victual is provided by Sir Walter Ralegh for* 6000 *foot for three months; and I observe how the Earl of Essex,* ———, *and Sir Robert Cecil are in continual private counsel. Sir Walter Ralegh is still called in unto them,* (St. George's Day[8]).

Essex ceases to oppose him.

Reconciles Essex & Cecil.

Victuals 6000 men.

In counsel with Essex & Cecil.

Mr. Whyte's letter of the 2d of June, 1597, informs us, that Sir Walter's suit was at length crowned with success, and that by the friendly offices of Cecil unattended by the opposition of Essex, he was fully reinstated in the favour of his sovereign. "Yesterday (he writes) my Lord of Essex rid to Chatham. In his absence Sir Walter Ralegh was brought to the queen by Sir Robrt Cecil, who used him very graciously, and gave him full authority to execute his place as Captain of the Guard, which immediately he undertook, and swore many men into the places void. In the evening he rid abroad with the queen, and had private conference with her; and now he comes boldly to the privy-chamber as he was wont. Though this was done in the absence of the earl, yet is it known that it was done with his liking and furtherance.——Your Lordship knows, that Sir Walter had the victualling of the land forces. I hear it is very

Fully restored with the queen.

[8] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 37, 42, 44.

well

well done, and that he hath let the Earl of Essex have much for his private provision. They are grown exceeding great, and often goes the Earl to Sir Robert Cecil's house very private, where they meet [9]." Great with Essex.

The expedition alluded to in these extracts, was what is commonly called the Island Voyage. Island Voyage. In the spring of 1597, the king of Spain fitted out a fresh fleet, consisting of his own ships and gallies, and all that he could hire in Italy or elsewhere. He embarked a very considerable body of troops, especially Irish, and intended to have invaded both England and Ireland. But the winds disappointed him; his fleet was scattered, and thirty-six sail cast away [10]. Meanwhile Elizabeth resolved to fit out another fleet to intercept the plate-fleet near the Azores, after burning such vessels as were in the harbours of the Groin and Ferrol. This fleet consisted of 120 sail, of which seventeen were her own ships, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers. She embarked 5000 new-levied soldiers, and 1000 veterans brought by Vere from the Netherlands. Essex, commander-in-chief of the land and sea forces, headed one squadron in the Merehonour, and afterward in the Repulse. Lord Thomas Howard, appointed vice-admiral, headed another in the Lion; and Sir Walter Ralegh, appointed rear-admiral, headed the third in the Warspite [11]. Rear-admiral.

At Weymouth, where part of the land forces met them, *the general*, says Sir Francis Vere, *called myself and Sir Walter Ralegh before him, and for that he thought there remained some grudge of the last year's falling out, would needs have us shake hands, which we did both, the willinglier because there had nothing passed betwixt us that might blemish reputation* [12]. Reconciled to Vere.

The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of July, but was driven back to that port by a storm, and could not put to sea again until August 17th. In the interval Essex, in company with Sir

[9] Ibid, II. 54, 55.
[10] See Ferrera and Meteren.
[11] See Camden and Monson.
[12] Commentaries, p. 47.

Walter,

Walter, made a journey to the metropolis to attend the court [13]; and it was now resolved to dismiss all the land-forces excepting Vere's thousand veterans, and laying small stress upon attacking Ferrol or the Groin, to confine the expedition principally to the interception of the Indian fleet. Soon after their second sailing, Ralegh having broken his main-yard, was obliged to lie behind the fleet; and when, after refitting, he arrived at the rock of Lisbon, he found there a number of ships and tenders belonging to the fleet, which he convoyed to the Azores. By a species of logic, in which they were well skilled, the creatures of Essex construed this service into a high offence; pretending that these vessels had quitted the general to attend the rear-admiral. Sir Walter, however, convinced the Earl that they came to the rock as the rendezvous appointed by himself; and that, finding them there, he had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his Lordship.

Prejudiced with Essex.

Joins Essex at Flores.

The island of Flores was the general rendezvous: where the whole of the fleet was at last assembled, and where the commanders found to their vexation, that the intelligence they had received on their passage of the armada being at the islands for the protection of the Indian fleet was completely false. Ralegh, with his captain Sir Arthur Gorges, and other gentlemen, dining on board the Earl's ship, "he seemed," says Gorges, "to be the joyfullest man living for our arrival," protesting "he never believed we would leave him although divers persuaded him to the contrary", and acknowledging "he was sorry for a letter which he had written by Mr. Robert Knolles into England against us, promising presently to make a dispatch on purpose contrary to the former." He afterward acquainted Sir Walter with "the many conjectures and surmises that had been vented of his absence, and withal named to him some of those men who had taxed him secretly with strange reports, yet pretended to love him, which he protested he never believed, but thereby the better observed their scandalons and cankered

[13] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 57. 59.

dispo-

dispositions." "For," adds Gorges, "though the Earl had many doubts and jealousies buzzed into his ears against Sir Walter, yet I have often observed that both in his greatest actions of service and in the times of his chiefest recreations, he would ever accept of his counsel and company before many others who thought themselves more in his favour [14]."

Loses Essex at Fayal.

It was here determined in a council of war, that Essex and Ralegh should attempt Fayal; Howard and Vere, Gratiosa; Lord Mountjoy and Sir Christopher Blunt, St. Michael's; and the Netherland-forces, Pico; while Tercera was to be attacked last of all with their united strength. Sir Walter had indeed scarcely began to wood and water, before he received the Earl's command to follow him to Fayal. By some accident the squadrons were separated, and Ralegh did not find Essex there on his arrival. Two days elapsed without his appearing, and the enemy were making every preparation for their defence. The council of war which was called on this occasion was divided in its opinions. Sir G. Merrick, Sir N. Parker, and other creatures of Essex, were by no means for landing without his knowledge; while Ralegh, Sir W. Brook, Sir A. Gorges, Sir W. Harvey, and others, held a contrary opinion, and deeming the Earl's reputation of less weight than their country's benefit and glory, thought that under the existing circumstances the knight was bound to attempt by himself the enterprise which had been allotted to them jointly. The former party so far prevailed that it was agreed to defer the attack one day longer, when, if Essex did not make his appearance, they were to proceed to the action without farther delay. This time having expired without the Earl's arrival, Sir Walter on the fourth day of their lying at Fayal, followed the resolution of the council without farther ceremony [15], and gives us the following account of the landing in his History of the World.

His account of the landing at Fayal.

"There were indeed some which were in that voyage, who advised me not to undertake it (*the landing*); and I hearkened unto them

[14] See Sir A. Gorges' Relation of the Island Voyage, in Purchas, Vol. 4.

[15] Ibid.

some-

somewhat longer than was requisite, especially while they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit, though it were not great, for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty, I gave them to understand the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did, yea, without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea, even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But without fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say that I had more regard of reputation in that business, than of safety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our prince and nation, that a few islanders should not think any advantage great enough against a fleet set forth by Queen Elizabeth. And farther, I was unwilling that some low-country captains and others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would have been short when I had landed in some other place) that for want of their help I was driven to turn-tail. Therefore I took with me none but men assured, commanders of mine own squadron with some of their followers, and a few other gentlemen-volunteers whom I could not refuse; as Sir William Brooke, Sir William Harvey, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Scot, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Henry Thinne, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Marcellus Throckmorton, captain Laurence Keymis, captain William Morgan and others, such as well understood themselves and the enemy; by whose help, with God's favour, I made good the enterprise I undertook. As for the working of the sea, the steepness of the cliffs, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough; and these notwithstanding, made five or six companies of the enemy, who sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall whereon their musketteers lay on the rest for us, and won the place of them without any great loss. This I could have done with less danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule that failed even in this example. But the reasons before alledged, together with other reasons well known to some of the gentlemen above-

above-named, though more private than to be here laid down, made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course, having it still in mine own power to fall-off when I should think it meet. It is easily said, that the enemy was more than a coward, which, yet was more than we knew. Neither will I magnify such a small piece of service, by seeking to prove him better, whom, had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concerns the proposition in hand, he that beheld this may well remember, that the same enemy troubled us more in our march toward Fayal than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop us in place of his advantage; that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; and that such as, thinking all danger to be past when we had won good footing, would needs follow us to the town, were driven by him to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to an hasty trot [16]."

The next day, Essex, who had been cruising in quest of the Spanish fleet, arrived at Fayal, was informed what had passed and given to suppose that Sir Walter had made this attempt to rob him of the glory of the action. His ambitious nature, aided by his jealousy of Ralegh, prepared him but too well to give credit to this story; and while some persuaded the Earl to call Sir Walter to a court-martial and dismiss him the service, others, says Camden, were not wanting who would have had him executed for landing his men without the Earl's permission; insinuating at the same time that Essex could not have a fairer opportunity of ridding himself of a rival, which if he missed, he might live to repent it. Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt, were cashiered and confined. In the mean-time Lord Thomas Howard interposed with his good offices, and persuaded Ralegh to make submissions to the general, upon which the officers were restored to their commands, and the animosi- Essex enraged.

[16] Hist. World, lib. v. c. 1. s. 9. The much more circumstantial, and places the Relation by Gorges, before referred to, is modesty of Sir Walter in a favourable light.

ty between Essex and Sir Walter, as Camden naturally concludes, slumbered, rather than expired[17].

Indian fleet escapes.

From this island they made for Gratiosa, which readily relieved their wants as far as it could; and here some of Essex's men descried four sail from the shore, of which one greater than the rest, appeared to be a carac. He immediately divided the fleet into three squadrons, under Howard, Ralegh, and himself, ordering Monson to steer southward, chase the fleet if he saw one, and make the squadrons signals. While he was making these arrangements, a small bark of his fleet assured him that the ships which had been seen were of his own fleet, which was sufficient to make him alter his intention, though Monson was too far gone to be recalled. Within three hours of his departure, the latter fell-in with twenty-five sail of Spaniards, and repeated his signals in vain to the squadrons which were to have followed. Essex, having altered his course, stood that night for St. Michael's and went north of Tercera instead of by Angra, where he had met the Indian fleet. Meanwhile the whole Spanish force reached Tercera, with the loss of only three ships, and the English missed this rich prize, and the severe blow they would have given to Spain, by, as Monson (who is otherwise sufficiently inclined to favour Essex) confesses, *the want of experience in My Lord, and his flexible nature to be over-ruled*[18].

Return to England.

The port of Angra was so well defended that it was judged impracticable to attempt any thing there with success; and after surprising and plundering Villa Franca, Essex re-embarked his forces, and prepared for his return. On their passage they captured one rich Spanish prize, which fell into the fleet by mistake, and had nearly taken another. Meanwhile the Spaniards meditated great things, and sent out their squadrons from the Groin and Ferrol, during the absence of the English fleet. Their design was to make a descent in Cornwal, and possessing themselves of Falmouth, to leave a strong garri-

[17] Annal. Elizab. 1597. Wotton says, (Reliquiæ, p. 180.) when one of his followers urged Essex at least to call Ralegh to a court-martial, his answer was—*that I would do if he were my friend.*

[18] Naval Tracts, 1597.

son

son there, and intercept the English fleet on its return late in the year, weak and disabled. At the islands of Scilly the Spanish admiral called a council of war for instructing the officers; but while his captains were on board, a dreadful storm arose which prevented their return to their ships, and scattered their fleet in a most distressful manner; so that eighteen of their capital ships were lost, several forced into our ports and taken, and the Spanish admiral's scheme entirely disconcerted. Our own fleet with much difficulty reached the western coast late in October [19].

Remarks on the expedition.

Dr. Campbell justly observes, that this expedition might, if well managed by us, have proved the ruin of the Spanish power; and as it was managed, had nearly been fatal to our own—so much depends on the conduct of commanders, and so little regard ought to be had to titles and quality when the safety of a nation is at stake. Essex was chosen for this command from court-motives, his birth, interest, personal accomplishments—though he wanted almost every qualification for a commander-in-chief. His courage was hot and fierce, but not resolute or lasting; his wit was quick, but his judgment slow and unsettled; beside all this, he was greatly deficient in experience. He appears to have had no view but to his individual glory, and the public service was postponed whenever it came in competition with it. By such management that plate-fleet escaped, which, had it been taken, would have ruined the Spaniards and been the making of us. His subsequent attempts to repair his own honour, and make a shew of that resolution, which, in reality, he wanted, delayed the return of the fleet, and gave the Spaniards that opportunity of invading England, which fortunately was frustrated by a storm [20].

Reception in England.

On the 19th of October Mr. Whyte writes to Sir Robert Sydney, *our fleet is not returned, but news is come that they were at the Azores, and that Sir Walter Ralegh landed at Fayal, and burnt and sacked the town. His friends at court are great and do mightily grace his doings, and commend his experience at sea.* On the 5th of November follow-

[19] Camden's Elizab. 1597.

[20] Naval Hist. Queen Elizab. in Lives of the British Admirals.

ing, he adds, *you will expect now that the Earl of Essex is returned, to hear from me what is done. For himself, he is already disquieted, keeps in, and went not this day to the parliament; and I heard Her Majesty is not well pleased with him for his service at sea, wherein it is alledged he might have done more than he did. Moreover, I hear that his proceedings toward Sir Walter Ralegh, in calling his actions to public question before a council of war, where by a full court he was found worthy of death, is greatly misliked here. Sir Walter Ralegh is happy to have so good and constant friends, that are able by their wisdom and authority to protect him and comfort him*[21]. The miscarriage of this enterprise was, as may be supposed, much canvassed in this country on the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took part differently as it affected either Essex or Ralegh, the people in general, with whom the knight was never a favourite, were inclined to justify every circumstance of the Earl's conduct.

Promotions of Cecil and Howard.

The mortification of Essex was increased, by finding that during his absence Cecil had been created Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and the Lord Admiral Howard, Earl of Nottingham, for his services (as the patent expressed) in 1588, and jointly with Essex against Cadiz[22]. "I hear that My Lord Essex," says Mr. Whyte on the occasion, "desires to have right done unto him, either by a commission to examine it, or by combat either against the Earl of Nottingham himself, or any of his sons, or of his name that will defend it. Or that Her Majesty will please to see the wrong done unto him, and so will he suffer himself to be commanded by her as she please herself. Here is is such ado about it, as it troubles this place and all other proceedings. Sir Walter Ralegh is employed by the queen to end this quarrel, and to make an atonement between them. But this is the resolution of Lord Essex, not to yield but with altering the patent, which cannot be done but by persuasion to bring the Earl of Nottingham unto it[23]." These remonstrances had such effect on the queen, that to appease Essex, and restore his precedence of

[21] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 68, 74.
[22] Camden Ann. 1597.
[23] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 77.

Howard,

Howard, she appointed him Earl Marshal of England, an office which had been vacant since the death of the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1590[24].

Meanwhile Sir Walter, after a short stay at Sherborne, during which, he appears to have been indisposed, and to have been visited in consequence, by his brother Mr. Adrian Gilbert[25], took his seat in the parliament which met on the 24th of October. His name appears in several committees upon bills of importance, but no material speech of his in this session has been preserved. In parliament.

On the 3d of January, 1597-8 Mr. Whyte informs Sir Robert Sydney, "it is exceedingly wondered at by the world to see the too too great familiarity that is grown between Essex, Cecil, Ralegh, and——, none but they enjoy him, they carry him away as they list." Eleven days later he writes, "I understand Sir Walter Ralegh devises to have a reward of service; within these two days he was with Essex, and desired that by his means some honour might be laid upon him; and seeing his promise was passed, and that he found Her Majesty inclined or resolved to bestow the place of vice-chamberlain upon you (Sir Robert Sydney) he would hope for it no longer.[26]" 1598. Familiarity between Essex, Cecil, and Ralegh.

Henry IV. who at this time filled the throne of France, having received an overture of peace from Philip, gave intelligence of the same to his allies, Elizabeth and the States, before he proceeded to a negociation. Cecil was the ambassador chosen by the queen, if possible to divert Henry from what has been commonly called the peace of Vervins. "I was told by one that knows much," writes Mr. Whyte to Sir R. Sydney, "that Sir Walter Ralegh labours mightily to have something done for him before Mr. Secretary's going away, and that he doth importune my Lord of Essex to be a fartherer of it. I am assured, that for the vice-chamberlain's place my Lord of Essex stands firm to you, and that if you were here you could carry it away from all men. If Essex could be drawn to be the instrument of Ralegh's good, an offer is made, that Cecil goes as ambassador to France.

[24] Camden Ann. 1597.
[25] See D'Ewes' Journal, p. 559.
[26] Collin's Sydney Letters, II. 79, 80.

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on their side a third of the prizes shall be procured to him, toward the payment of his debts. How far this may work, time must make known." (January 19th)—"My Lord Compton, my Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Ralegh, my Lord Southampton, do severally feast Mr. Secretary before he depart, and have plays and banquets; my Lady Darby, my Lady Walsingham, Mrs. Ann Russell, are of the company, and my Lady Ralegh." (January 30th)—"My Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Ralegh, and divers others, are gone with him (Cecil) to Dover; some think they will go over with him as far as Dieppe. He went away yesterday—the parliament ended upon Thursday, and no barons called or created. Mr. Secretary, before his going, got the queen to sign a privy-seal for my Lord of Essex for £7000, to be paid unto him out of the cochineal as Her Majesty's free gift unto him; they were very private together, and great kindness sure is between them. I heard it said in very great secret, that this employment much troubled him, and that within these very few days past he had no fancy to go, till Essex did assure him, that in his absence nothing should be done here that might be disagreeable unto him. His fear was, that some such might be advanced in his absence, that he could not like of." (February 11th)—"Mr. Secretary is embarked and gone, unless these contrary winds drive him back again. I am credibly informed, that before he went away Essex and he agreed upon the bringing in of Your Lordship and Sir Walter Ralegh into Council. During Mr. Secretary's being at Dover, he had every day posts sent unto him of all things done, were they never so private; surely he hath great and inward and assured friends about the queen." (February 15th[27].)

Entertained by Ralegh and others.

Attended to Dover.

Essex enters into Ralegh's interest.

About this time, on the advice of a Spanish fleet being on its passage to reinforce their army in Flanders, Essex prepared to defend the Kentish coast, Ralegh was commanded to Cornwall, and other officers to different stations, to defend the country if occasion required; but the panic was soon over by the arrival of the enemy at Calais. Early in March following Sir Walter was spoken of as

[27] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 82, 86, 89, 90.

Lord

Lord-deputy for Ireland, the affairs of which kingdom were now daily growing more and more desperate, and commanded the utmost attention in this country. He was soon afterward sent for by the privy-council to give his opinion concerning them, but appears to have been averse to the post of Lord-deputy [28]. Previously to the death of the Lord-treasurer Burleigh, which happened in August 1598, he appears also to have been materially instrumental in procuring the restoration of certain ancient tenures of the duchy manors in Cornwall, as well as the revocation of a tax on curing fish [29].

Ralegh spoken of as Lord-deputy of Ireland.

Benefits Cornwall.

Henry having concluded a separate peace with Spain, some of Elizabeth's wisest counsellors, particularly Burleigh, advised her to pacific measures also; as Philip, having no claims upon her, would in all probability be glad to free himself from an enemy who had foiled him in every contest, and who still had it so much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms [30]. Essex warmly opposed this idea, and his advice for the continuance of the war accorded with the queen's own inclination. It was about this time that the Earl, being engaged in a dispute with Her Majesty, was so heated in the argument, that he turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner, and received from her a box on the ear; upon which he clapped his hand to his sword, and swearing he would not bear such usage from Henry VIII. himself, withdrew from court. He was soon however restored to the royal favour; and Oldys conjectures, with some appearance of probability, that what he calls his *feather-triumph* over Ralegh, took place on the queen's birth-day, (Nov. 17th) in this year [31]. Lord Orford in his Catalogue of Noble Authors observes, that *this affront is not very intelligible at present.*

Feather-triumph.

[28] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 91, 94, 95, 96.

[29] See Carew's Survey of Cornwall, 4to. 1602. p. 35, 37, 79, 80.

[30] Hume in Elizab.

[31] *At least I think* (says Oldys) *it could not happen later than this year; because Essex's violent courses throughout the remainder of the reign, allow of no opportunity or countenance for his farther appearance at those entertainments—and as for the preceding birth-days, Essex seems not to have been spirited-up by his incendiaries enough for raising such a division or party as appeared upon this occasion, till the last year when they returned from the island-voyage, and then it must have happened during the sitting of the parliament, which may not be so probable.* Life of Ralegh, p. 132.

The

The probable solution however is, that Essex had been informed that Sir Walter, with a gallant train, designed to appear in *orange-tawny feathers* at the tilt on that day; and provided himself and his retinue with feathers exactly similar, to brave the knight, or confound his suit with his own [32].

Essex goes to Ireland.

In the meantime Tyrone's rebellion had spread itself widely in Ireland, and created a serious alarm in the English council. Essex, seemingly by his own earnest, though secret, desire, was appointed Lord-lieutenant; and in March, 1599, he went over to that kingdom, destined, says one of his attendants, *to be the sepulchre of his father, and the gulph of his own fortunes* [33]. In the following August, upon great apprehensions in this country of an invasion, a fleet was on a sudden fitted out under Lord Thomas Howard as admiral, and Sir Walter Ralegh in the Ark-royal as vice-admiral. "Whether it was a mistrust," says Monson, "the one nation had of the other, or a policy held on both sides to make peace with sword in hand, a treaty being entertained by consent of each prince, I am not to examine. But sure I am the preparation was on both sides very great, as if the one expected an invasion from the other; and yet it was generally conceived not to be intended by either, but that ours had only relation to my Lord of Essex, who was then in Ireland, and had a design to try his friends in England, and to be revenged of his enemies, as he pretended, and as it proved afterward by his fall [34]." Mr. Rowland Whyte informs Sir Robert Sydney on the 18th of August, that "Sir Walter Ralegh took his leave at court of all the ladies, and his friends [35];" and Monson adds, "whether it was that the intended invasion from Spain was diverted, or that Her Majesty was fully satisfied of my Lord of Essex, I know not; but so it was that she commanded the sudden return of her ships from sea, after they had lain three weeks or a month in the Downs [36]."

1599.

Ralegh vice-admiral.

[32] See Clarendon's Disparity between Buckingham and Essex in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 190.

[33] See Wotton's Parallel.

[34] Naval Tracts, 1599.

[35] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 117.

[36] Naval Tracts, 1599.

On

On the 20th of September following Mr. Whyte writes, "I heard of one that is familiar among them, that Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Ralegh do infinitely desire to be barons, and they have a purpose to be called unto it though there be no parliament[37]." It was eight days later that Essex, after having consumed his time in Ireland on the most frivolous enterprises, and entered into a treaty with Tyrone, which is an eternal blemish on his memory, re-appeared on a sudden in England, and threw himself on his knees before the queen in her bed-chamber. After a momentary kindness, the effect of surprise, Her Majesty ordered him to be confined. He was examined by the council on the day following that of his return; and after the examination, we are informed, Sir Walter dined with Secretary Cecil[38]. On a slight circumstance of favour shewn by the queen to Essex a few weeks afterward, *Sir Walter*, says Mr. Whyte, *fell sick upon it, and Her Majesty very graciously sent to see him.* The same intelligent correspondent adds, that soon after this *a deep unkindness*, of which he could not learn the cause, prevailed between Lord Cobham and Ralegh; and that in December the knight was seized with an ague, and suspected by the world of certain libels concerning Ireland and the commitment of Essex[39].

Desires to be a baron.

Essex returns.

Early in January 1599-1600, Sir Walter had a hope of being advanced to the privy-council. His advice was taken in regard to victualling and manning Ireland; and in March he made great interest to be appointed one of the commissioners of the treaty at Boulogne between Elizabeth, the king of Spain, and the archduke Albert, but without success; for the queen perceived, as it was supposed, that he would apply to be of the privy-council before his departure, which she appears to have had no inclination to grant him. *Ill-pleased*, says Mr. Whyte, *to see nothing done for him*, he retired to Sherborne with his family—*My Lord of Northumberland made them a dinner at Sion in their way—Mr. Secretary's son, a youth of*

1600.

Discontent.

[37] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 126.
[38] Ibid. II. 129.
[39] Ibid II. 139, 141, 146, 150.

great hope, is gone down with them. Being, however, sent for about the middle of May, he returned to court early in June to renew his solicitation for the vice-chamberlainship [40], and must soon afterward have accompanied Lord Cobham to Flanders. To which journey the following letter from Cecil alludes.

Goes to Flanders.

"To the Commissioners for the Treaty of Boulogne."

Cecil's letter to the commissioners.

"After my very hearty commendations—I have acquainted Her Majesty with your dispatch of July 12th, whereby it appeareth, that as yet the Archduke hath not returned his resolution; a matter which plainly discovereth that there is a dependency of an answer from Spain. And whereas it appeareth, that the Archduke chargeth the queen with relieving of the Hollanders with munition and victual, you may do well to take occasion to make some round answer in that point. For first I do affirm it to be true, that there hath not a grain of corn or powder, or any manner of victual been sent from hence, which would be somewhat roundly inverted upon them, seeing we have truth on our side. And yet, because peradventure they may hear hereafter that some voluntaries do daily go over, this denial of ours would be used in such form as heretofore you have done; which is to maintain the argument still, how just it were, though it had been otherwise. I have little more therefore at this time to trouble you withal, only I think good to preoccupate with you another circumstance if they hear it, which is the going over of my Lord of Northumberland and my Lord of Rutland, and now my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh. Of whom if they speak (but not otherwise) you may use this argument. That they have no charge, nor carried either horse or man, but some half a dozen of their own; but finding the queen is so resolved to have peace (if good conditions could be had) they

[40] Collins' Sydney Letters. II. 156, 159, 178, 179, 181, 195, 198.

obtained

obtained leave with importunity to see this one action, before they should become desperate of seeing any more of that kind in Her Majesty's time, which God long continue !

For the ordnance, I do protest unto you that the queen sent none ; but if there were, then surely they are sold by the patentees, in which point my lord ambassador can give satisfaction that it is for Her Majesty's commodity—and thus I end,

Your assured loving friend,

July 14, 1600. R. CECYLL."

" Since the writing of this letter the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh are come, so as that matter will be quickly answered [41]."

Object doubted.

Sir Henry Neville, however, who was one of the commissioners at Boulogne, appears to have entertained a different opinion of this journey. In a letter dated from that place July 18th, he writes to Mr. Winwood, " we understand by reports, but not otherwise, that my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh are gone over upon pretext to see the camp and seige of the fort Isabella near Ostend, where Count Maurice is yet unprofitably as he was before at Newport ; but I cannot think but they have some other end, and that in England there is some alarm taken of these matters, although we be not worthy to know it." Five days later he adds, " my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh are returned, but I hear their journey was not altogether idle, nor upon curiosity only, but that they carried some message, which did no harm—the particulars you shall know when I am better informed of them [42]."

The death of Sir Anthony Paulet made a vacancy, soon after Ralegh's return from Flanders, in the government of Jersey ; and it is to be regretted that this is the last occasion on which the intelligent correspondence of Mr. Whyte furnishes us with any illustra-

[41] See Winwood's Memorials by Sawyer, folio, 1725, I. 215.

[42] Ibid, I. 230, 231.

tion of Sir Walter's history. He writes to Sir Robert Sydney, "Sir Anthony Paulet is dead, and Sir Walter Ralegh will surely have the government of Jersey; but the Lord Harry Seymour claims a former grant of Her Majesty of £300 a-year paid out of it, as he had in Paulet's time." (Aug. 12th)—"Sir William Russel standing for the government of Jersey hath given a stop to Sir Walter Ralegh having it, but the opinion is Sir Walter will carry it; who I hear hath dealt with Sir W. Russel to give over his suit, and he would resign unto him the wardenship of the stannaries, and the lieutenancy of Cornwall. But Sir W. Russel stands upon these terms, to have what Her Majesty will please to give him as merely from herself, without being beholden to the other. My Lord H. Seymour, on the other side, hopes well in Her Majesty's gracious promise, and persists in his suit. Sir Walter Ralegh hath had three or four fits of an ague. His own credit with the queen is of late grown good, and he cannot want the assistance of his friends whose authority is greatest." (Aug. 16th.)—"Sir Walter Ralegh shall have the government of Jersey, and it is doubtful if he part with the stannaries or no. A commission will be sent to survey the island, and the charges of building a new fort. It should seem, Sir Walter Ralegh will be content to raise a fort upon his own charges, and he must pay £300 a-year to my Lord Harry Seymour." (Aug. 23d)—"Mr. Secretary hath picked out this time to be away, and to take some pleasure abroad, from the infinite pains and care he takes in the dispatch of Her Majesty's service when he is in court. It is said he is gone accompanied with my Lord Cobham, to see Sir Walter Ralegh at Sherborne, where young Mr. Cecil his son is brought up." (Sept. 6th) [43]. Sir Walter's patent for the government of Jersey, with a grant of the manor or lordship of St. Germain in the same island, and all the lands and tenements therein, bears date August 26th, 1600, and will be found in the Appendix [44].

Made governor of Jersey.

Meanwhile the career of Essex was drawing to a crisis. Several cir-

Essex.

[43] Collins' Sydney Letters, II. 210, 212, 214.

[44] No. IX.

cum-

cumstances had contributed to keep alive the queen's anger against him. Every account which she had received from Ireland, had convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, particularly the new life which her authority in that island had gained on a sudden, under the administration of his successor Mountjoy. The partiality of the people had given her additional disgust—for, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of the Earl's merit, they complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement—libels were secretly dispersed against Cecil, Ralegh, and all who were esteemed his enemies; and his popularity, always great, seemed increased rather than diminished by his misfortunes. The tenderness of Elizabeth so far prevailed over her severity, that she contented herself with having him examined by the privy-council, instead of being tried in the star-chamber[45]—and the sentence pronounced by the Lord-keeper was, "if this cause had been heard in the star-chamber, my sentence must have been as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court, and perpetual imprisonment in that place which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But now that we are in another place and in a course of favour, my censure is, that he is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor to hold himself for a counsellor of state, nor to execute the office of earl-marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance; and to return to his own house there to continue a prisoner as before, till it shall please Her Majesty to release both this and all the rest[46]."

Suspended from his offices.

His apparent penitence and the queen's partiality led every body to expect that the Earl would soon be reinstated in his former credit. Her Majesty was however persuaded that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued, and therefore she did not renew his at this time nearly-expiring patent for a monopoly of sweet wines, observing, *the unmanageable steed must be stinted in his provender*[47]. His proud spirit, with difficulty so long subdued, now burst at once all restraints of submission and of prudence; and imagining the queen inexorable, Essex deter-

Outrageous.

[45] Hume in Elizab.

[46] See Birch's Memoirs Elizab. II. 454.

[47] Camden's Elizab. 1600.

mined

mined to seek relief by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies[48]. It was perhaps at this period that the severe expression against Her Majesty escaped him, of which Sir Walter himself makes mention in his Prerogative of Parliaments. *Undutiful words of a subject*, he writes, *do often take deeper root than the memory of ill deeds do—the Duke of Biron found it when the king had him at advantage—yea, the late Earl of Essex told Queen Elizabeth* that her conditions were as crooked as her carcase; *but it cost him his head, which his insurrection had not cost him, but for that speech*[49].

Correspondence with James.

Essex had, moreover, early courted the friendship of the King of Scots. A close correspondence was maintained between them, and among other expedients for extorting a declaration in favour of that king's right of succession to the English crown, the Earl had proposed in vain that Mountjoy should bring over a part of his army from Ireland, to intimidate the queen[50]. The Earl's own adversaries were represented by him to James as enemies to his succession, and partisans of the chimerical title of the Infanta of Spain. Sir Walter Ralegh[51] would naturally be included in the number of these, and we may with great appearance of probability call Essex the first planter of a prejudice in the mind of James against Ralegh, which, under the culture of others, spread with consequences so fatal to the knight in the subsequent reign.

Prejudices him against Ralegh.

1601.

His insurrection.

It was early in February 1600-1, that the Earl's meetings with his select council of malcontents, at Drury-House, had ripened, as he thought, for execution, his project of surprising the palace, forcing the queen to displace his enemies, and to settle a new plan of government[52]. In the number of this council were Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Sir Christopher Blount; and their designs are supposed to have become known to the queen through a conference held between Sir

[48] Hume in Elizab.

[49] See Birch's Work's of Ralegh, I. 223.

[50] Birch's Memoirs Elizab. II. 471.

[51] In the Instructions for the Earl of Mar, we read, *in the west Sir Walter Ralegh commanding the uttermost province, where he may assist the Spaniards in their first invasion, if that course be held fittest; being also captain of the isls of Jersey, there to harbour them upon any fit occasion.* See Hardwicke State Papers, N° xxii.

[52] See Camden—and Birch's Memoirs.

Walter

Walter Ralegh and the former, on the 8th of February, the day of the insurrection. Gorges was then governor of Plymouth-fort, and had that morning received a message from Sir Walter to attend him at Durham-house, on what occasion, or whether from suspicion, does not appear. He himself informs us, that on his consulting Essex, the Earl advised him to go, but directed him to appoint the meeting on the Thames, and to take a guard with him [53]. By the confession, however, subsequently made by Gorges before some of the privy-council, it appeared that Blount had advised the seizure, or murder of Sir Walter at this meeting; and that because Gorges rejected the advice, Blount shot at him four times in a boat, probably to dispatch him for fear he should betray them. Blount was unable to deny these facts, and intreated Sir Walter's forgiveness when he was shortly afterward executed [54]. When Ralegh was examined relative to this conference, all he said was, that Gorges told him upon the water, that Essex "had put himself into a strong guard at Essex-house, and this is like to be the bloodiest day's-work that ever was; wishing him to go to court with speed for prevention thereof: then Sir Walter wished Sir Ferdinando Gorges to refuse their company else he would be undone [55]." This Gorges at that time confirmed, but in the vindication of himself which he wrote, has given the following more enlarged account of the conference.

Design on Ralegh.

"When Sir Walter Ralegh's boat came to me, he being all alone, and I having two gentlemen, he told me that he had sent for me to admonish me to make all haste out of the town down to my charge, there being a warrant out for the sending me to the Fleet. For his kind advertisement I gave him thanks, but told him withal (because I knew the present occasion would soon discover itself) that it came too late, for I had engaged myself in another matter. He farther enquiring of me what it was, I told him there were 2000 gentlemen who had

Ralegh's conference with Gorges.

[53] See An Answer to certain Imputations against Sir F. Gorges, written in the Gate-house. In the Cotton Library, Julius, F. VI. 183. p. 423.

[54] See a Declaration of the Practises and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earl of Essex, &c. printed by Barker the Queen's printer, 4to, 1601.; and State Trials, fol. 1776, I. 211.

[55] See State Trials, I. 201.

resolved

resolved that day to live or die freemen. He protested unto me he heard not of it until that morning, but did not see what they were able to do against the queen's authority. My answer was, it was the abuse of that by him and others, which made so many honest men resolve to seek a reformation thereof. His reply was, that no man is without a colour for his intent, and advised me to look to myself and to remember my duty and allegiance. I answered, that I knew not any man who did not more respect his allegiance than his life, as the end would make apparent; and thus we parted, he to the court, and I to Essex-house——If it be demanded of me why I did not then take Sir Walter Ralegh. I. It was not a matter I ever proposed though many persuaded me so to do. II. I never held it an act fitting among men to betray any that repose trust in us; and he putting himself into my hands, with what honesty could I have avowed so barbarous a deed, unless he had given me the first occasion by violent deeds or unkind words, for either of which I was both resolved and prepared.—— The reason why I acknowledge I had means to have taken or killed Sir Walter Ralegh was, the better to make it appear that there was neither malicious or butcherous course intended to him or any, and also to give him cause to acknowledge himself in that respect beholden unto me, whereby to take from him occasion to exercise his power (which I knew to be great at that juncture) to my ruin. For I did believe he could not in reason be so void of human respect, as not to requite one courtesy with another; as also it was no matter of treason against Her Majesty, but rather a manifestation of the contrary, approving this intent to be particular against Sir Walter Ralegh and others [56].

Meanwhile Essex, having determined the seizure of the palace to be impracticable, had recourse to the wild project of raising the city, and collected his friends, and informed them that Cobham and Ralegh were plotting schemes against his life. Yet when at Blount's trial Sir Robert Cecil questioned the former, whether he believed

[56] See note 53.

that

that Cobham and Ralegh designed any such assassination of the Earl, Blount answered that *he did not believe they ever meant any such thing, nor that the Earl himself feared it, only it was a word cast out to colour other matters* [57]. Indeed the vindictive disposition of the Earl appeared still more notorious, by his accusing Cecil himself at his own trial as a partisan of the Infanta's title; and, on a challenge from the secretary, being able to produce only an authority so weak and frivolous as he did, in support of his accusation [58]. Though this conduct did not entitle Essex to his commiseration, and though such an assertion opposes itself to the general current of history, I have found reason to believe, that Cecil relented toward the Earl before he met his fate, and was even inclined to save him. In support of this opinion we have the following passage in one of the letters of the subsequent secret correspondence between Cecil and King James: —*I do remember that in our late unlucky tragedies, many of Essex's friends were willing that he should rather break his neck by desperate attempts suitable to their own humours, than be saved and redeemed by the faith and industry of Cecil, who of all men living, in case he had found* subjectum bene dispositum, *would have dealt best with, and perfected the work of his deliverance* [59]. The following letter also from Ralegh to Cecil, which has been preserved among the Burleigh papers, appears to imply the same disposition in the secretary.

Falsely accused by Essex.

Cecil relents.

"SIR,

"I am not wise enough to give you advice; but if you take it for a good counsel to relent toward this tyrant, you will repent it when it shall be too late. His malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any of your mild courses; for he will ascribe the alteration to Her Majesty's pusillanimity, and not to your good na-

Ralegh's Letter to Cecil.

[57] See Blount's Trial in Additional State Trials, Vol. VII.

[58] See Bacon, IV. 530.

[59] See Lord Henry Howard to Mr. Edward Bruce, Letter XIV. in the Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI. king of Scotland, published by Sir David Dalrymple, 12mo, Edinburgh, 1766, p. 219.

 ture,

ture, knowing that you work but upon her humour, and not out of any love toward him. The less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm you and yours; and if Her Majesty's favour fail him, he will again decline to a common person. For after-revenges, fear them not; for your own father was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son [60] followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not, but grow by occasions and accidents of time and power. Somerset made no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's heirs [61].—Northumberland that now is, thinks not of Hatton's issue [62].—Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of Horsey; and Horsey let him go-by all his lifetime. I could name you a thousand of those; and therefore after-fears are but prophecies, or rather conjectures from causes remote—look to the present, and you do wisely. His son shall be the youngest Earl of England but one, and if his father be now kept down, Will. Cecil [63] shall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more too. He may also match in a better house than his, and so that fear is not worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches, and pull up the tree root and all. Lose not your advantage; if you do, I read your destiny.

Let the Q. hold Bothwell [64], while she hath him he will ever be the canker of her estate and safety. Princes are lost by security, and preserved by prevention.—I have seen the last of her good days, and all ours after his liberty.

Yours, &c.

W. R. [65]

[60] Probably his second son.

[61] The Duke having influenced Edward VI. to deprive him of his titles and lands.

[62] Sir Christopher Hatton having been suspected of the murder of the late Earl of Northumberland in the Tower.

[63] Only son of Sir Robert.

[64] Francis Stuart, grandson of James V. in a bastard line, was created Earl of Bothwell, and Lord High-admiral of Scotland by James VI. Of boundless arrogance and ambition, with a restless and unruly spirit, he was forfeited over and over, but by his factious connection with some of the nobility as often pardoned. He surprised and forced the royal palace of Holyrood-house, invested the castle of Fawkland, &c. from a spirit of dominion and contempt of his master's ministers. These circumstances, then recent and notorious, are the occasion of Sir Walter giving this name to Essex.

[65] See Murdin's State Papers, p. 811.

Sir

Sir Walter is enumerated among the noblemen and knights who invested Essex-house, and at the Earl's trial he attended with forty of the queen's guard on his duty as captain[66]. He was also present at his execution in the Tower, and at first stood near the scaffold, that he might answer for himself should Essex object anything to him at his death. But some persons ascribing his presence to a desire of feasting his eyes with the Earl's suffering, he retired into the armory, and beheld the execution from thence[67]. For this he was afterward sorry, as he heard the Earl had a desire to see and be reconciled to him; and this powerful rival of an opposite faction did not meet his fate without drawing tears from Sir Walter, as the knight confessed at his own execution[68]. Essex executed.

In the summer of this year Sir Walter attended the queen on her *progress*; and when the French king came to Calais on the alarm of the Archduke besieging Ostend, and sent over to Her Majesty, then at Dover, M. de Rosny, afterward Duke of Sully, Ralegh was one of the persons of distinction appointed to receive him[69]. Ralegh receives the French ambassador.

On the 27th of October assembled Elizabeth's last parliament, in which Sir Walter sat as one of the knights of the shire for the county of Cornwall[70]. This was a session abounding in important business, but exhibits to us a House of Commons widely differing from our present idea of this assembly. Ralegh's first appearance in it as a speaker is in opposition to the act for sowing hemp. "For my part," said he, "I do not like this constraining of men to manure or use their grounds at our wills, but rather let every man use his ground to that which it is most fit for, and therein use his own discretion. For hawsers, cables, cordage, and the like, we have plentifully enough from foreign nations, and we have divers countries here in England make thereof in great abundance; and the bill of tillage may be a sufficient motive to us in this case, not to take the course that this bill intendeth. For where the law provideth that every man must plough the third part of his land, I In parliament. Speech on sowing Hemp.

[66] See Essex's Trial in State Trials.
[67] See Camden in Elizab. 1601.
[68] See Ralegh's Speech on the Scaffold.
[69] See Sully's Memoirs.
[70] See Townshend's Hist. Collect. p. 338.

know it, divers poor people have done so to avoid the penalty of the statute, when their abilities have been so poor, that they have not been able to buy seed-corn to sow it withal, nay they have been fain to hire others to plough it; which if it had been unploughed, would have been good pasture for beasts, or might have been converted to other good uses [71]."

On the Subsidy. 'At the committee touching the subsidy Sir Walter Ralegh moved the House to consider to what intent they came together, and now in their coming what was to be considered.' "For the subsidy, and the manner and quality thereof, I will now only intimate thus much unto you, that the last parliament only three subsidies were granted upon fear that the Spaniards were coming; but we see now they are come, and have set foot even in the queen's territories already, and therefore are the more of us to be respected and regarded. And seeing the sale of Her Highness' own jewels, the great loans the subjects have lent her yet unpaid, the continual selling of her lands and decaying of her revenues, the sparing ever out of her own purse and apparel for our sakes will not serve, but yet she must be fain to call her court of parliament for our advice and aid in this case. I wish for my own part (as a particular member of this commonwealth) that we may not do less than we did before, and that we also would bountifully according to our estates, contribute to the necessity of Her Majesty as now it standeth.——If all pay alike none will be aggrieved; if any be exempted doubtless it will breed much grief, and the feeling will be great to those three-pound men that will feel any thing, but it will be nothing to them that know any thing.——I like not that the Spaniards our enemies should know of our selling our pots and pans to pay subsidies; well may you call it policy as an honourable person alledged, but I am sure it argues poverty in the state. And for the mention that was last made of *dulcis tractus pari jugo*, call you this *par jugum* when a poor man pays as much as a rich, and peradventure his estate is no better than he is set at, or but little better; when our estates that be

[71] See Townshend's Hist. Collect. p. 188.

£30

£30 or £40 in the queen's books, are not the hundredth part of our wealth? Therefore it is not *dulcis* nor *par*[72]."

The encroachments made upon the tinners by those who advanced them money had become so exorbitant, that Sir Walter had been importuned to revive the privilege of pre-emption, founded on the clause in the charter of Edward I. allowing them to vend their tin to the best advantage, *nisi nos ipsi emere voluerimus*; and he appears to have benefitted the tinners materially. The journalists inform us, that the knight blushed when the subject of monopolies was first touched upon in this parliament[73]; he however afterward thus addressed the house:—"I am urged to speak in two respects, the one because I find myself touched in particular; the other, in that I take some imputation of slander to be offered unto Her Majesty; I mean by the gentleman (Mr. Martin) who first mentioned tin. For that being one of the principal commodities of this kingdom, and being in Cornwall, it hath ever, so long as there were any, belonged to the dukes of Cornwall, and they had special patents of privilege. It pleased Her Majesty freely to bestow upon me that privilege, and that patent being word for word the very same the duke's is, and because by reason of mine office of Lord-warden of the Stannary I can sufficiently inform this house of the state thereof, I will make bold to deliver it unto you. When the tin is taken out of the mine and melted and refined, then is every piece containing one-hundred weight sealed with the duke's seal. Now I will tell you, that before the granting of my patent, whether tin were but of seventeen shillings, and so upward to fifty shillings a hundred, yet the poor workmen never had above two shillings the week, finding themselves. But since my patent, whosoever will work may; and buy tin at what price soever, they have four shillings a-week truly paid. There is no poor that will work there but may, and have that wages. Not-

On his Tin-patent.

[72] See D'Ewes' Journal, p. 629, 630, 632. In the Prerogative of Parliaments, Ralegh makes the Justice say, *I myself once moved it (a subsidy given by the better sort) in parliament in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who desired much to spare the common people, and I did it by her commandment.* See Birch's Works of Ralegh, I. 210.

[73] See D'Ewes, p. 645, and Townshend, p. 232.

withstanding,

withstanding, if all others may be repealed, I will give my consent as freely to the cancelling of this as any member of this house [74]."

Sir Walter spoke against the bill for reformation of abuses committed in inns, taverns, &c. [75]; and on that for prohibiting the transportation of ordnance, he said, "I am sure heretofore one ship of Her Majesty's was able to beat ten Spaniards; but now, by reason of our own ordnance, we are hardly matched one to one. And if the Low-countries should either be subdued by the Spaniard, or yield unto him upon a conditional peace, or shall join in amity with the French as we see them daily inclining, I say there is nothing doth so much threaten the conquest of the kingdom, as the transportation of ordnance [76]."

On transportation of Ordnance.

On the renewal of the debate, whether the statute of tillage should be repealed or not, Sir Walter Ralegh said, "I think this law fit to be repealed. For many poor men are not able to find seed to sow so much ground as they are bound to plough, which they must do or incur the penalty of the statute. Beside, all nations abound with corn. France offered the queen to serve Ireland with corn at sixteen shillings a quarter, which is but two shillings a bushel. If we should sell it so here, the ploughman would be beggared. The Low-countryman and the Hollander, who never sow corn, hath by his industry such plenty, that they will serve other nations. The Spaniard, who often wanteth corn, had we never so much plenty, would never be beholden to the Englishman for it, neither to the

On the statute of Tillage.

[74] D'Ewes Journal, p. 646. A few months after the rising of this parliament Mr. Carew made the following public acknowledgment of Sir Walter's service in this cause, in the Dedication prefixed to his Survey of Cornwall. *The same* (Survey) *intreats of the province, and persons over whose bodies and estates you carry a large both martial and civil command by your authority, but in whose hearts and loves you possess a far greater interest by your kindness. Your ears and mouth have ever been open to hear and deliver our grievances, and your feet and hands ready to go and work their redress; and that not only always as a magistrate of yourself, but also very often as a suitor and solicitor to others of the highest place. Wherefore I as one of the common beholden, present this token of my private gratitude—it is duty, and not presumption that hath drawn me to the offering.*

[75] See Townshend's Hist. Coll. p. 278.

[76] See D'Ewe's Journal, p. 671. Sir Walter has also frequently *written* upon this subject.—See in his Discourses, on a Marriage between Prince Henry and a Daughter of Savoy, Birch's Works of Ralegh, I. 276; touching a War with Spain, &c.; Ibid, II. 7; of the Invention of Ships, &c. Ibid, II. 85.

Low-

Low-countrymen nor to France, but will fetch it even of the very Barbarian. And that which the Barbarian hath been suing for these two hundred years (I mean for traffic of corn into Spain) this king in policy hath set at liberty of himself, because he will not be beholden unto other nations. And therefore, I think the best course is, to set it at liberty and leave every man free, which is the desire of a true Englishman [77]."

On Dover-haven tax.

On the question whether the Dover-haven tax of threepence *per* ton on every ship, should be continued, Sir Walter said, "there be divers havens which have been famous and now are gone to decay, as Tinmouth, Seatown, and Winchelsea. Rye is of little receipt, Sandwich (as a burgess of that town said this parliament, Mr. Peake) is even a-going. The tax being employed as it should be, I hold it both good and necessary; and there is no trade of fishermen to Newfoundland but by this haven of Dover. Which if the tax be taken away, and that go to decay, Her Majesty shall lose one of the best and most necessary havens of England, which hath all the commodities that Mr. Chancellor shewed, and lieth opposite to all our enemies' countries; who may soon be with us and we not able to resist them and help ourselves, should we want this haven. I think it therefore fit this matter should be considered of and committed [78]."

On observance of Sabbath.

His last speech was on the subject of the bill for enforcing the more diligent observance of the Sabbath. Here he shewed that all the churchwardens of every shire must come to the assizes to give information to the grand jury. Say then, there be an hundred and twenty parishes in a shire, there must now come extraordinarily two hundred and forty churchwardens. And say, that but two in a parish offend in a quarter of a year, that makes four hundred and eighty persons with the offenders to appear. What great multitudes this will bring together! What quarrelling and danger may happen! Beside, giving authority to a mean churchwarden, how prejudicial this

[77] Townshend Hist. Coll. p. 299.

[78] Ibid. p. 309.; and see Sir Walter's farther treatment of this subject in his Memorial to Queen Elizabeth, touching the port of Dover, printed in a pamphlet intituled An Essay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety of England, &c. published by Sir Henry Sheers, Knt. 4to. 1701.

may

may be! With divers other reasons against it, as also he said there were some ambiguities and equivocations therein; the *proviso* newly added being a plain toleration from coming to church, and that the parson could not prevent or constrain any if they read service at home [79].

This parliament was dissolved on the 19th of December; and it was probably in the early part of the following year, 1602, that Sir Walter sold his estate in Ireland to Mr. Boyle, as I have already noticed in Chap. II.[80] At midsummer in the same year, he settled his Sherborne-estate upon his son Walter[81], who was then about eight years of age. He made this among other arrangements at this time, probably in consequence of a challenge which he had received from Sir Amias Preston, and which he intended to answer [82].

1602.

Sells his Irish estate.

Challenged by Preston.

The cause of their quarrel does not appear, but they were reconciled without proceeding to a duel [83]. In the following March, the death of Queen Elizabeth put a period to this long and glorious reign.

Death of Queen Elizabeth.

[79] Townshend, p. 320.; and D'Ewes', p. 683.

[80] See page 56 of this volume.

[81] See Sir Walter's Letter to his Wife in 1603.

[82] See Sir Walter Ralegh's Trial, where the Knight's own words refute Fuller's erroneous statement of this circumstance in his Worthies *in Somerset*.

[83] Fuller's Worthies *in Somerset*.

END OF VOL. I.

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